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[8-20] Rosmini

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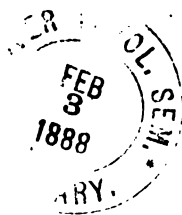
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VIRI IN CATHOLICIS IN CATHOLICIS VITÆ ILLIS PATRIBUS ILLIS
VIRI ET VITÆ ILLIS



LIFE
OF
ANTONIO ROSMINI SERBATI

FOUNDER OF THE INSTITUTE OF CHARITY

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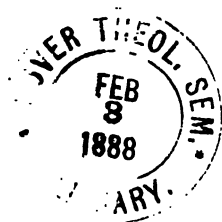
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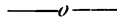
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L I F E
OF
ANTONIO ROSMINI.

CHAPTER I.

ROSMINI'S DIPLOMATIC MISSION.

(A.D. 1849.)

The Last Days at Gaeta.

ROSMINI had left Gaeta for Naples on the 22d of January 1849. It was on the 9th of June that he returned to the Pontifical Court.

While in Naples, Rosmini took up his residence, first at the House of the Vincentian Fathers, who received him with great hospitality, afterwards he went to stay with the Capuchin Fathers of St. Ephrem. He did this for the sake of greater retirement, as he found that too many visitors came to see him, some, friends whom he knew, and others, whom he was glad to receive; but some, as he learned, were persons not well thought of by the Government, and these he wished as far as possible to avoid, lest, being in attendance on the Pope, he should in any way compromise himself unintentionally.

Meantime Rosmini's adversaries in the Council, as well as the Neapolitan Government, were anxious, as we have seen, to remove from the Pope one who, like

Rosmini, threw the weight of his high political learning, his great intellect, and his influence with the Pope on the side of that enlightened policy which had been so nobly inaugurated by Pius IX.

Rosmini made no secret of his belief that that policy was sound, and that it had miscarried chiefly owing to various mistakes in the details of the Constitution, and in the manner in which it had been given. These mistakes he saw were very excusable, under the novelty and urgency of affairs. He did not think they were beyond remedy. As the Constitution had been given, he wished it not to be withdrawn, hoping that when tranquillity was restored it might be put upon a sounder basis.

Rosmini had been strongly opposed to the particular form of Constitution which had been given by the Pope, framed as it was on the French model, and giving no fair representation to property. He foretold its necessary failure. Since his arrival in Rome he had had many opportunities of conversing with the Pope. He knew that Pius IX. had lost faith in Count Rossi, the Prime Minister, whose influence had in great part led to the adoption of the French form of Constitution. Just before the assassination of Rossi, the Pope had sent to tell Rosmini that as soon as he was made Cardinal he intended to make him Secretary of State.

From all these things, which were well known to those about the Pope, we can easily understand why those who wished a return to the old state of things felt that it was vital to their success to remove Rosmini's influence.

During the time of his residence in Naples he had heard enough of rumours from Gaeta to understand that the policy of Cardinal Antonelli had prevailed, that all conciliatory measures were to be abandoned,

and the Pope's authority restored and maintained by means of a French occupation. For the Pope himself was averse to invoking the aid of Austria, and had no trust in that of Piedmont.

Rosmini on the contrary would have advised the Pope to remain in his own States at Benevento, and to take advantage of the armistice between Austria and Piedmont to invite if necessary an intervention in Rome by the troops of Piedmont and other Italian powers, instead of calling in the aid of foreigners. Such was the advice given to the Pope by Rosmini in private and before the Council of Ministers. It is no wonder then that it was determined to get rid of his influence at Gaeta. Rosmini was soon aware, through various acts of discourtesy on the part of high ecclesiastics belonging to the Pope's Court or reflecting its sentiments, that there was a strong opposition to him amongst all those who were around his Holiness. Mgr. Stella, the Pope's Maestro di Camera, who had been formerly most cordial, now began to throw impediments in the way of audiences with the Pope, and to slight him in various petty ways, as some Roman Monsignori know how to do. It began to be rumoured that the Pope had determined not to make Rosmini a Cardinal, although the Pope himself declared the contrary, and sent word to Rosmini, as he tells us in his Diary, to this effect. Last of all, it had reached Rosmini's ears not only that his opponents were bent upon putting the two small political works that have been mentioned, on the *Index*, but that it was probable that an attempt would be made to get all his works submitted to examination. This was the first intimation he got of that examination of his works which took place soon after the Pope's return to Rome in 1851. A domiciliary visit of the police to examine his papers determined him at once to return to Gaeta, and he was

quite prepared for the events which took place on his return. He went back to face them, and to know from the Pope himself what he wished him to do. The remainder of this narrative is given in Rosmini's own words. He writes in the third person.

"On the evening of his arrival from Naples, Rosmini had his first audience of the Pope, who received him as he had parted with him, with his usual cordiality; but the first words he said were 'Caro Abate, you find me anti-constitutional.' Rosmini, to whom the honour of the Pope was very dear, replied, 'Santità, it is a grave question to change entirely the road on which you have entered, and to divide your Pontificate into two parts. I am myself convinced that neither at present nor for a long time will it be possible to restore the Constitution to vigour, but it seems to me that if some hope of this is left to the people, it may have a good effect; history tells us that it is dangerous for Princes to take two opposite lines.' The Pope answered that his mind was made up on this point; that he had recommended the matter to God, and that he would not now give the Constitution, if they were to tear him in pieces. Rosmini touched on the difficulty there would be in preserving the Temporal Sovereignty to the Church, if the States of the Church were the only ones in which the system of absolute Government was maintained, in the midst of the other States which were constitutional. The Pope replied that when a thing is intrinsically bad we can on no account whatsoever do it, be the consequences what they may; that the Constitution is irreconcilable with the Government of the Church. He then went on to prove that the liberty of the press was a thing intrinsically evil, and also liberty of association, &c. Rosmini did not assent to this, saying that by good laws the evils of the liberty of the press might be

restrained ; that liberty to write had always existed prior to the last 300 years, from which time the censorship of the press began ; yet the Church had always repressed and condemned bad books and false doctrine, as well as bad actions, and placed hindrances in the way of illicit and bad associations by means of preventive penalties ; so that it was not proposed to give full and absolute liberty.

Rosmini then informed the Pope that he had heard from Cardinal Mai, that he had been requested to examine his works, but had begged to be dispensed. Referring to the *Cinque Piaghe*, the Pope expressed himself satisfied with Rosmini's explanations."

The narrative continues :—"While Rosmini was at Naples . . . he knew that the police were in great movement about him, and that he was followed everywhere by spies. The Archbishop, the Nunzio, and other Monsignori were by no means courteous ; yet he did not care about this, content in his retirement and in his studies ; in fact, it never occurred to his mind that he could be made the object of persecution.

"But on the third day after his return to Gaeta, namely, the 11th of June, a Commissary of Police, acting under the authority of a certain Major Yongh, who was Head of the Police at Gaeta, in attendance on his Holiness, came to the house where he lodged and demanded to see his passport. About nightfall they returned, saying that the passport had not been signed in Naples, and therefore he must return to Naples immediately. Rosmini said that he had not been asked to get his passport signed on entering or leaving Naples, nor yet at Gaeta ; that he was there in attendance on the Pope, and by order of his Holiness ; that to treat him in that way was an insult to the Pope, and that he certainly would not leave without taking his orders from

him. The police officers insisted, but Rosmini was firm and would not move. The same night about eleven, as Rosmini was undressing to retire to bed, heavy knocks sounded at his door; he replied that he was undressed, and could see no one till the morning. They insisted, and added that if he did not open the door they would force it open, and, in fact, they had with them armed Carabinieri for the purpose. Rosmini dressed himself and opened the door. They told him that he must leave by the first boat in the morning, which started at an early hour. Rosmini replied as before, that, being in attendance on the Pope, he would be wanting in his duty if he went without taking his orders from His Holiness, that Major Yongh was placed there by the King expressly under the orders of the Pope, and that it could not be his Majesty's intention to remove one of the Pope's attendants without consulting His Holiness; but in any case he would not move from where he was, unless he were carried by force, until he had presented himself and taken his *congé* from the Pope. He said he only required a few hours, when he would be ready to take his departure. After endless talk, the police left him, Rosmini only saying, I hope you will now leave me quiet for the night." He adds, "One of the Police, like those Neapolitans who cannot help talking, told the people of the house that all this was an intrigue to get Rosmini away. Rosmini met Major Yongh before leaving, and asked him the real reason why he had been molested about his passport; he answered that, as a gentleman, he could not deny that the case of the passport was a pretext, but that the real motive it was not in his power to divulge."

"The following morning after celebrating Mass, Rosmini went to the Palace, but in the outer apartment one of the servants said in a loud and imperious voice, 'The

orders are that no one enters the ante-camera this morning.' Rosmini said, 'I wish to speak to Cardinal Antonelli.' 'He is engaged with one of the Monsignori.' 'None of them are here.' Rosmini stood on the threshold doubting what to do, when he saw Cardinal Antonelli put his head out of the door of his apartment, and instantly withdraw it on hearing Rosmini exclaim, 'Eminenza, I have an urgent matter to speak about.' He could not, however, help admitting Rosmini, who related the affair of the police, about which Antonelli protested that he knew nothing, that they had their rules, that the passport was not regular, and so forth. Rosmini said he had no difficulty in leaving Gaeta, but he must have his orders from the Holy Father, and in case he had to leave Neapolitan territory, receive his benediction. Antonelli made various difficulties about an audience, so that Rosmini, displeased at the petty pretexts of the Cardinal, said frankly that if he was to be chased out of Gaeta without an audience of the Pope, he should consider it an atrocious injury. This somewhat mollified the Cardinal, who at last said that he would introduce him to an audience. He went to the Pope's chamber, and was absent a good half hour, Rosmini waiting in the ante-camera. Major Yongh then came forth from the Pope's chamber, Antonelli remaining behind. When he came out Rosmini was called to enter. The Pope said at once, 'I have only heard this moment what happened last night, and I have told Major Yongh that he is to leave you in peace, and that I could say that in two or three days you can conveniently leave of your own accord.' The Pope added that the Neapolitan police had been suspicious, because so many people came to see Rosmini in Naples, and some whom they did not like; adding, 'We must respect these sentiments,

seeing we are not in our own house.' Rosmini then explained to the Pope the way he had been treated of late, not by the police only, but by those immediately around the Pope, even so far as to want to send him from Gaeta without his obtaining an audience ; to which the Pope replied in these exact words, ' They are afraid you will influence me.' On this Rosmini protested that his Holiness knew how little influence he had had with him. The Pope told him to remain according to his own convenience, and that he would not again be molested.

"One or two days afterwards Rosmini had another audience. He happened to speak of the secret motives of those who had made use of the pretext of the passport to remove him, on which the Pope said, ' Oh, if you knew how many tales they have related to me about you ; but I do not wish to tell you about them.' He added, ' They are now examining your works.' Rosmini at the time thought the Pope was speaking of the police, and replied, smiling, ' They may examine, but they will find nothing.' He afterwards was convinced that the Pope had in his mind an ecclesiastical, not a police examination." The Pope seems to have been aware that Rosmini's adversaries had, as we now know, already prepared that long list of over 300 censures which were even then being secretly circulated in the form of the *Postille*, and the work of the *Prete Bolognese*. This examination of his works, which ended so contrary to the expectation of his opponents in his triumphant acquittal, began soon after the Pope's return to Rome in the following year, and ended in 1854.

Before leaving Gaeta after this farewell audience with the Pope (which was, in fact, the last time they met in this world), Rosmini thought it right to prepare a *Memorial* to justify himself (I follow his own narrative)

from the accusations brought against him in respect of his political doctrines. For, as he writes, "the way of thinking had been profoundly modified at Gaeta, and was certainly very different from the conversations held six months before. He also thought it right to justify himself in respect of the visits paid to him by persons suspected by the police at Naples. He wished also to enlighten the Pope as to the artifices and tricks of the men by whom he was surrounded. He asked permission of the Pope to do this, and begged him to receive it benignantly, because he knew that his Holiness loved the pure truth, and deserved that it should be told him entirely." This Memorial was presented to the Pope on 15th or 16th of June, and it was thus conceived :—

GAETA, June 15, 1849.

Most Holy Father,—Before leaving Gaeta, mindful of the Divine precept which says : "Curam habe de bono nomine"—"Have care for a good name,"—in order to fulfil it, I lay at the feet of your Holiness this justification.

I am told that there are two reasons why I am ordered to leave Gaeta, on the pretext that my passport was not signed at Naples—1st, that certain of my political opinions are disapproved ; 2nd, that during my sojourn at Naples, persons suspected by the police visited me.

Whether my political doctrines could deserve measures of such rigour as to chase me from Gaeta with Gendarmes, your Holiness will judge from the following points :—

1st. In my works I have confuted with all the vigour of which I was master, the false principle of "*The Sovereignty of the People*," which I have constantly declared absurd, unjust, immoral, &c.

2nd. I have condemned *Revolution* under whatever title and under every pretext, teaching that the people cannot rebel against their *Absolute Prince* ; but if they have grievances they can bring them forward for redress in a peaceful and respectful way ; and if they do not at once obtain what they desire, they must by patience, by waiting, and by hope in God render their afflictions less grievous.

3rd. I have defended *Absolute Princedom*, distinguishing it from *Despotism*, and have shown not only that it may be legitimate, but

also good and paternal, and the best form of Government, provided it is adapted to the times.

4th. I have taught that *Monarchy* is the best form of Government, and that "Government by one only" is not, on this account, to be called Despotism. That Despotism may be found under every form of Government, but is oftener found under Democracy, and then more excessive and with fewer alleviations or means of redress.

5th. I have written a thousand things against the *French Revolution*, and have proved that the notions which prevailed in that Revolution were vague and uncertain, many of them evidently false, and not a few wicked and impious.

6th. I have said that the second element of *Monarchical Government* is *Aristocracy*, and that from this comes the strength and the consistency of Society; and I have exhorted Princes to elevate and sustain *Aristocracy*, as the basis of Thrones, yet so that it shall have no odious privileges, but be sustained, in all justice, by moral and political means, such as are never wanting.

7th. I have declared that justice, first towards God and the Church, and next towards all, is the foundation of every form of government; that no evil, however small, may be done, even for the sake of the greatest good; and I have preached respect for all laws, in order to the fulfilment of *all justice*.

8th. I have defended the union and mutual assistance of Church and State, against those who advocate *separation*; I have pointed out the legitimate connection of Church and State, declaring that temporal prosperity which is the aim of the State, ought to be considered by Christians simply as a means to eternal salvation, which is the final scope of the Church.

9th. I have taught that the *Constitutional System* is inopportune when the people are not ripe for it; that when they have arrived at maturity, it is desired by them, and becomes opportune.

10th. I have added that all the *Constitutions* that have been framed on the French model are such that they cannot give peace and tranquillity to human Society, since they incite to a mania for continual innovation, and tend to Socialism and Communism. That in practice Constitutions do not succeed well unless they are based on entirely different principles, namely, on the principle of property, and of political justice. Hence I have not been in favour of the Constitutions that the Italian Princes have given to their peoples; I have deplored the fact and predicted the consequences.

It is therefore not likely that a man who has constantly, in all his works, taught these truths, and forcibly confuted the opposite

sophistries, should have come under suspicion of the Neapolitan police on account of his subversive doctrines.

The second cause of these suspicions is alleged to be, that during my stay in Naples I was visited by persons not well thought of by the police.

I went to Naples knowing no one. I could not have a list of persons suspected by the police. I lodged in Religious Houses. I took the precaution of telling the porter to be careful that no one whom he knew to be of bad reputation should be introduced.

But I never like to be discourteous, so I received those who came to my room, not knowing who they were. Generally they were literary men, or ecclesiastics, who came to talk to me of science or literature, or to present me their works. I never uttered a word disrespectful to the King, and when occasion arose I defended the acts of his Government. This is the genuine history. I cannot believe the police of Naples had any suspicion of me. Nay, my sense of my priestly dignity makes me believe that, even if any came to me who did not enjoy much credit, politically, the police, who are supposed to be wise and enlightened persons, would have been pleased to see them come to me, on the principle that "not those who are well need a physician, but those who are sick."

Lastly, if these were the causes of the action of the Police, why was I treated, &c. . . .

Rosmini here recounts to His Holiness the facts I have related above of his treatment by the Police, and by the servants and high officials about the Pope, so that they attempted to force him to leave Gaeta without even receiving the Holy Father's sanction and benediction.

He continues :—

This cannot appear to the good sense of the public itself a mode of acting in accordance with decorum, thus to isolate the Supreme Pontiff within a narrowed circle. . . . I have to thank your Holiness's benignity, which, if it has not hindered the effect of these machinations, has at least prevented their being carried out by the harsh modes of violence, and has thus lessened the scandal. I depart, therefore, with the benediction of your Holiness ; to do your will I leave, as to do your will I came to Gaeta ; yet I leave not without that grief which a son feels in leaving his father. Thus,

and thus only, is my departure from Gaeta a fact, as it is already announced to be in the Journals.

Most Holy Father, I will always serve with all my being Jesus Christ, and your Holiness His Vicar, through evil report and good report, and if I have thought it right to justify myself by this letter, I have not done so out of self-love, but as being bound to defend my honour and that of the *Institute* to which I belong, by means of a document, which will remain ; and the truth will be known should need require it, even before the public.

Kneeling at your Holiness's feet, I ask for the Apostolic benediction, and with filial attachment, even to death, I honour myself in being your Holiness's most humble, obliged, and obedient son,

A. ROSMINI.

Rosmini adds in his narrative :—" This memorandum will probably come into the hands of Antonelli, who will be offended by it ; Rosmini clearly foresaw this, but for all that he would not on any account conceal the truth from the Pope."

He continues :—" I have just received, June 18, a letter from Monsignor Stella, written in the name of the Pope."

GAETA, *June 10, 1849.*

Illust^{mo}. Signore,—The Holy Father has given me the honourable charge of replying to your letter to his Holiness. He has informed me that you came to Gaeta because, having declared to a high personage your noble resolution of following the Holy Father wherever he should go, the Holy Father intimated to you, through the same high personage, that this declaration of yours gave him satisfaction. Now, owing to circumstances that have supervened, you have asked his Holiness's counsel, whither to direct your steps. He says that he gives you perfect freedom of selection, assuring you that, wherever you go his paternal affection will accompany you ; and he will pray constantly to our Lord that, since He has bestowed His gifts on you with so liberal a hand, so He will give you that grace and those lights which may enable you to know whatever in the works you have written might be displeasing to the Divine Dispenser of those gifts. This knowledge you may easily obtain, if you are willing to submit yourself to the judgment of the Holy See. The Holy Father imparts to you the Apostolic Benediction, &c., &c.

GIUSEPPE STELLA.

In the course of his reply, Rosmini said :—

You add a most sweet comfort in saying that the Holy Father will accompany me with his paternal affection, and that he will pray constantly to our Lord to grant me light to be able to know whatever there might be displeasing to God in any of my writings, and that I may have this light by submitting myself to the judgment of the Holy See.

I have great confidence that, if through inadvertence, I have written anything false or pernicious, the mercy of our Lord God will be indulgent with me, since I have sought nothing else in my poor labours except His glory, the good of the Church, and the salvation of souls ; and this sentiment itself He has, of his pure bounty, infused into my soul. Whatever decision shall ever emanate from the Holy See, I shall receive with all my soul, and conform myself to it with joy, for I seek not to maintain my own opinions, but the doctrines of the Holy Roman Church, which is my Teacher, and this, too, I hope from the grace of Jesus Christ.

“ The next day Rosmini,” as his narrative continues, “ left by the steamboat for Capua ; but finding the air there too oppressive, he went to Caserta, and staid there for a time at the Capuchin Monastery of Santa Lucia, which is seated on a lovely mountain overlooking the Bay of Naples.

“ Here again he was disturbed by the police, and ordered within eight days to quit Neapolitan territory. The Redemptorist Fathers had invited him to dine, but were so alarmed by the order of the police that they made some excuse to withdraw the invitation.”

Leaving Caserta on the 15th July, he arrived at Albano, at the house of his friend Cardinal Tosti, where he was hospitably entertained for two months. His Eminence and Cardinal Castracane were the only Cardinals who remained unchanged towards Rosmini.

It was here, when he had nearly finished his reply to the attack of Father Theiner on the *Cinque Piaghe*, that he received the intimation from Father Domenico Buttaoni, Master of the Sacred Palace, that this work, as well as

the *Project of a Constitution*, had been placed on the *Index*.

Nothing could have been kinder or more considerate than this letter; at the end of it he asked Rosmini to send him, if he pleased, his acceptance of the decree, in order that he might add in the promulgation of it; *Auctor laudabiliter se subjecit*. "The author has laudably submitted."

Rosmini the same day wrote the following reply:—

ALBANO, 15th August 1849.

Most Reverend Father-Master of the Sacred Palace,—I have just received your venerated letter, in which you inform me that my two small works have been prohibited. You ask me as to my sentiments of submission to the same decree, in order that you may make mention of them in the Decree itself. With feelings therefore of a most devoted and obedient son of the Holy See, as, by the grace of God, I have always been in my heart, and have also publicly professed, I declare that I submit to the prohibition of the above named works, purely, simply, in every possible way; begging you to give assurance of this to our Holy Father, and to the Sacred Congregation, &c., &c.

ANTONIO ROSMINI SERBATI.

Father Buttaoni wrote Rosmini a beautiful letter in reply, in the course of which he says—

The reply you have sent me is the most noble and solemn testimony of obedience and devotion which a man of your virtue and merit can render to the Chair of Peter.

This narrative Rosmini thus concludes, "In all these various vicissitudes the Lord God assisted Rosmini, so that he never lost his peace of mind.

"Antonio Rosmini declares that whatever is read in this Commentary is entirely conformed to the truth."

From Albano, Rosmini went to spend a few days with his ever faithful friend Cardinal Castracane at Palestrina.

He writes from Palestrina to his cousin, Leonardo

Rosmini, of Trent, who was greatly in his confidence, and whom he had engaged to form part of his household as Cardinal :

My dearest friend and cousin, when we wish for nothing but the Will of God, we enjoy always the peace of Christ, which contains all good. The sudden and unexpected prohibition of my two small works has not disturbed my peace, nor yet the secret way in which it was done, nor have the manœuvres of all kinds which were mixed up with it hindered me from submitting, with all the sincerity of my heart, to whatever competent authority has thought fit to pronounce. Nevertheless, it comforts me to have been assured that the prohibition was not made on account of any proposition worthy of theological censure being found in the works, but because they were thought inopportune in the political state of the times, and, above all, displeasing to some of the Sovereign Powers, on account of what is said on the subject of the Election of Bishops ;* although I believe I have said what is not less useful to the Church than to the State, and is calculated to temper the extravagances of the people, and give them a religious tendency, for if they are not employed on matters of religion, their exuberant activity will upset the civil order, and this order will be the more disturbed, the greater is their impiety and religious indifference. However, I have given, as was my duty, a blind submission to the Decree.

. . . . As regards the Cardinalate, although the Pope assured me at Gaeta that the next promotions would include my humble person, yet after my departure for Naples the intentions of the Pope may have changed. You know that I did everything in my power to decline the honour and weight of the Cardinalate. If, then, all things should come back to the state they were in before it was offered, I shall certainly not be sorry. I shall go to-morrow into Rome in order to continue my journey to Stresa.

To another friend he writes :

I thank you for your sympathy with me in the strange and almost incredible vicissitudes by which Divine Providence conducts me, in all which God's immutable design never fails.

* Rosmini proposed only, that the people should be *consulted* on the choice of Bishops. He wrote the *Cinque Piaghe* in view of a religious people like the Tyrolese, and of the abuses in Government nominations.

Meditating on it, I admire it ; admiring it, I love it ; loving, I celebrate it ; celebrating it, I give thanks ; giving thanks, I am filled with joy. And how can it be otherwise, since I know by reason and by faith, and feel in my inmost soul, that all that takes place is willed and permitted by God, and done by an Eternal, Infinite, and Essential Love? Who can be angry with Love?

Writing to Father Pagani, the Provincial of the Institute in England, he consoles him thus :

No reason was given me for the prohibition, and since they prohibit some books, not only for errors, but also as a prudent precaution, in order to withdraw from the public, doctrines which might be abused, it is very likely that this is the real cause of the prohibition. Books are sometimes removed from the Index on a second examination, as in the case of Malebranche, whose works were taken off the Index after their defence by Cardinal Gerdil. The same may be said as to books which taught the motion of the earth round the sun.

He continues :

I believe that the Cardinalate, which the Pope obliged me to accept, will have come to an end, in the prohibition of the two works. To be relieved from the weight of this dignity is dear to me, all but the injury done to me before men ; but in this also I am supported by the thought, that, what Our Lord Jesus Christ bore was much greater, and that He knows what is the degree of honour that is best for me in order to His service. Our Brother Don Luigi Gentili was a true prophet, for when he heard of the promotion intimated by the Pope, he warned me "to remember the purple garment of derision in which they clothed Jesus Christ."

Rosmini left Rome about the middle of October, in a poor carriage drawn by his own horses, which his faithful lay-brother Antonio Carli had cleverly managed to recover from General Oudinot, who was in command of the French army. He travelled by short journeys, staying a day at Florence, and with one or two friends in Tuscany. On the second of November 1849 he arrived at Lesa, on the Lago Maggiore, where he stopped to salute Manzoni, who was staying there.

What kind of meeting it was, and what words passed between these two great men, who are an honour of this our age, at a moment like that in which they met; full of the memories of all the vicissitudes of the last few eventful months, may, as Don Paoli says, "be left to be imagined by those who have minds and hearts capable of appreciating the situation." That same evening was still more consoling to Rosmini, when he found himself amidst the embraces of his spiritual children at Stresa.

CHAPTER II.

THE LAST FIVE YEARS AT STRESA.

(A.D. 1849-1855.)

ROSMINI returned to Stresa on All Souls Day, 1849. It proved to be an omen, by none indeed noted but himself, to whom each day was a *memento mori*. Who amongst his children dreamed that he had not six years more to live? When death comes, who is there that expects it, especially when it is the death of one on whose life so much seems to depend?

He returned, apparently with his former health, courage, and intensity, to all his ordinary pursuits. Indeed, he had never interrupted them, whether it was the direction of souls under his care, the governing of the Institute, the management of his property, or the writing of his letters and of his Works. But he was now free from the turmoil of the contests in Church and State. He had left his solitude at the call of God, he had essayed to do a great work, in which he never saw his way to succeed, but in which he left success to God. He had been met by overwhelming difficulties, and had done his best to overcome them; he had not succeeded, and the same Providence which sent him to Rome has now led him back to his solitude. Stresa, on the borders of the lovely Lago Maggiore, is a haven of peace for the weary in heart and brain. Here Rosmini dwelt from 1850 in the Palazzo, as it was called, somewhat grandiloquently, by the people of Stresa, for

it was not a palace, but only a handsome Italian villa, with a large garden in the rear. It stood close to the Lake, separated from it only by the Simplon road that runs from Arona, along the border of the Lago leading by Domodossola over the Alps.

Some great consolations came to him on his return to Stresa, more than compensating him for all the anxieties and contradictions of his Mission to Rome, the events at Gaeta, and the false accusations against his doctrines, which had led to the now imminent examination of his works.

Several most excellent priests came to join his Society, sacrificing important positions in order to leave all and follow Christ. One of these was Don Vincenzo De Vit, Doctor of Padua and Canon of Rovigo, a learned archæologist and Latinist, now for many years resident in our House in Rome, and well known for his two works of vast labour and research, the *Lexicon totius Latinitatis* a new and greatly enlarged edition of *Forcellini*, and the *Onomasticon* or Dictionary of proper names down to the sixth century after Christ.

The next to join the Institute was Don Lorenzo Gastaldi, Canon of San Lorenzo in Turin and Doctor of that University. He became well known in England as a most zealous missionary. He was afterwards Bishop of Saluzzo, took a very distinguished part at the Vatican Council in promoting the definition of Papal Infallibility, and died Archbishop of Turin.

A third was Don Carlo Caccia, mitred Provost of San Satiro in Milan, Secretary of the Cardinal Archbishop of that city. He afterwards did good work in England, and then he went as Secretary with Mgr. Cardozo to Brazil. On his return to England he was Rector of our Reformatory at Market Weighton in Yorkshire for

many years, and succeeded Mgr. Gastaldi as Rector of Cardiff. Returning to Italy, he died Rector of the College at Domodossola.

A fourth was Cardozo-Ayres, a young Brazilian of noble birth, who afterwards became Bishop of Pernambuco, and died in Rome while attending the Vatican Council.

A fifth was Don Pietro Bertetti, Doctor of the University of Turin, Canon of Tortona, and Rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary. He was a most zealous priest and a splendid preacher, and was certain to have been made a Bishop if he had remained in his original career. But he, too, left everything, and like the three Fathers previously named, was sent to England, where his gifts of eloquence were restrained by the difficulties of the language. This he had just mastered, and had begun to give Catechetical instructions, which were wonderful for simplicity and depth, so as to show that he would have become one of the most powerful preachers in England, when he was summoned by Rosmini from St. Marie's, Rugby, where he was Rector, to go to Rome as Procurator-General, during the examination of Rosmini's Works. To his learning and discretion much of the triumphant success of that examination may under God be attributed. He died General of the Order, third in succession to the Founder.

He was the means of bringing many very valuable subjects to the Order, amongst them Don Paolo Perez, a holy and learned Professor of Padua, Don Giuseppe Calza, and Don Luigi Lanzoni, our present General, whom may God preserve *ad multos annos*.

In those companions who joined him, Rosmini saw a great promise from heaven for the future; and they were all brought to him without his having done anything to seek them. They came in the only

way in which he ever wished souls to join his Society—drawn by God, by the odour of the sweetness of charity.

May our charity be like his; then we, too, shall draw men to us by the “bonds of Adam,” the human-kindness of those who may say in their degree, “I live, not I, but Christ liveth in me.” May we all labour for this “charity unfeigned.” Everything else is of little worth.

Another great consolation for Rosmini was the prosperous condition of his little flock of Sisters of Providence, who now were beginning to spread out their “Small Establishments” of teaching Sisters in various towns and parishes around, highly appreciated by Bishops and Parish Priests and Municipalities for their simplicity, zeal, and piety, and their success in teaching the children of the poor. Their work will be spoken of in the chapter devoted to the *Sisters of Providence*.

But nothing gave Rosmini greater joy than the success of his Missionary Priests labouring in England. During the year before, while Rosmini was in Rome, he had been afflicted by the death of his beloved Luigi Gentili (September 1848); but he knew that he had died a Martyr of Charity, other labourers had been brought to the front, and that the preaching of Missions in England, Ireland, and Scotland was continued by our Fathers.

Great conversions had been taking place in England at this time; especially, in 1845, that of John Henry Newman, one of the greatest minds of the day, now Cardinal Deacon of San Giorgio in Velabro. Rosmini had for years watched this religious movement in England, which will be spoken of a little later, with intense interest. He had written a letter to Dr Pusey, hailing his advance towards the Catholic Church, and gently exhorting him to hasten on towards the Mother of the

Faithful. He felt the deepest hopes for the restoration of the ancient Faith in the English nation. He had a high appreciation for the natural goodness and greatness of the English character, for the fidelity to faith, and Christian morals of the Martyr nation of Ireland, and for the high philosophical character of the Scottish thinkers. We may be sure to what a great degree his mind was taken up, on his return to Stresa, with the prospects of religion in England, since he sent all the four distinguished men spoken of above to join the English Mission. Perhaps we in England have never sufficiently appreciated the extraordinary charity of Rosmini for England, and the immense interest he must have felt in this country, and in the world-wide Empire of which England is the centre, in thus sending us so many of his best men. Fathers Pagani, Gentili, Rinolfi, Ceroni, Gastaldi, Bertetti, Caccia, and others, are men that any Order might be proud to have had as their first Founders. How full was the mind and heart of Rosmini with the thought of England as he sent forth these men, who were after his own heart, and with whom he had taken sweet counsel as they walked together along the borders of the Lake! They had gone to exchange the lovely scenes of Italian sky, lake, mountain, and luxurious foliage, for the cloud-shrouded land, and the smoke and fog of its huge cities of ceaseless din and labour. Rosmini's heart went with them in their "pilgrimage of Grace." His last words to me when I saw him for the last time as we parted on the Quay at Stresa were, "I hope perhaps next year to visit England." This was in May 1854. In little more than a year he was gone for ever from this world, in body; but, as we firmly believe, the impediment of the body being removed, he is with his children, in spirit, wherever they go, and guides them, under God, and guards them in all their ways.

But the master-work of Rosmini was his philosophy. For, as his philosophy was essentially Christian, it was the true *Love of Wisdom*, a communing of soul with the Word and Wisdom of God, the "True Light that enlighteneth every man coming into the World."

On his return to Stresa he seemed to throw himself with greater energy than ever into the continuation of his great Works. He almost seemed to have, like the Venerable Bede, a presentiment that the end was near. "Write, and write quickly," seemed to be sounding in his ear.

Only that Intellectual Charity which longs to impart truth to others could have nerved him to such incessant labour, especially now, when his health had begun to fail. He loved truth indeed for its own sake, but to make it known to others, to remove the veil that the limitations of our nature place before it: this was his labour of love. He himself confessed frankly to Don Paoli, that "but for his desire to communicate truth to others his labours would have been insupportable." But important as he believed these works he was writing to be, he had not, so far as those who knew him best could judge, the least particle of vanity. He looked on himself as a torch-bearer holding up a light that had been given him from on high. To praise him was to pain him, as was shown by the confusion it caused in him. But few were found to attempt this, for to praise a great man is an act of self-conceit, it is as much as to say we are great enough to appreciate him; and all but little minds felt themselves overshadowed by the vastness of his intellect. He owned that he felt "really grieved by praise, except on account of the good-will and regard shown by the speaker or writer." He used to say that, "after so much study and research, he only began to cease to be a child; that all he had written was but the first rudiments of human knowledge, and that if he

should live a hundred years, he thought he should always have something new to say." On another occasion he said that he "did not feel tempted by vanity, because the more he knew the more he saw there was that he did not know, and that he should feel inclined to laugh, if the devil tempted him to pride, knowing as he did so intimately, that whatever he knew was not his own, but came to him through the gift of intelligence, which was from God."

He had full faith in his mission to write, and had always before him that he had received this as his special work from the Supreme Vicar on earth of the Incarnate Truth. At the moment when, on his return from Rome, he took up again the thread of that part of his philosophical system that he was then developing, he knew that all his previous works had been denounced to the Holy See, and more than 300 censures were being industriously circulated against them. Yet he went on with perfect tranquillity, still further developing that system. The works which he was now engaged in writing or revising for the press, were *The True Method of Educational Training*, *The Introduction to Philosophy*, *The Treatise on Logic*, the second volume of the *Psychology*, *Aristotle examined and compared with Plato*, *Gioberti and Pantheism*, *The Divine in Nature*, dedicated to Manzoni, the greater part of the *Theosophy*, and of *The Ontology*, *Rationalism in the Theological Schools*, *The Categories*, *The Dialectics*, and the *Supernatural Anthropology*.

He wrote also at this time several Articles in Periodicals, on *Christian Matrimony*, on *Liberty of Teaching in the Schools*, and on *The Rights of Ecclesiastical Property*. These were published in the *Armonia* of Turin. They were afterwards reprinted, and are among his *posthumous works*.

When we survey the enormous mass of letters which

were constantly flowing from his pen, usually written with his own hand, many of these letters very long, and on deep subjects, and all copied regularly, and forming forty volumes, we cannot but wonder that he had time for any other writing ; and when we look at the number of his published volumes, and of his works still in manuscript, the marvel is that he could find any time for epistolary correspondence. It was all the outcome of his extraordinary regularity. His great works were simply the result of those two hours and a half every morning, between collation after Mass and dinner, regularly devoted to the writing or dictation of his philosophical works. It was due also to that marvelous power of concentration by which he could throw himself wholly into the work of the moment. He wrote very generally by an amanuensis, but often spared him for other duties, and wrote with his own hand and with wonderful quickness. His thoughts came from his mind clothed in words, armed as it were at all points, like Minerva from the head of Jove. Every word of a sentence was guarded by every other, so as to express the whole thought without ambiguity.

All the time he never missed a single Religious duty. He rose the moment he was called, and immediately began to recite the Apostles' Creed in an audible voice, dwelling on every word, as his first tribute to God that day. The meditation, the Mass and thanksgiving, the two examinations of Conscience, Rosary, and spiritual reading were never omitted.

With all this he was ever at the service of his visitors, and never showed himself preoccupied. He often entertained guests at his own table, when the usual spiritual reading might on occasion be exchanged for conversation more suitable for his guests. He made himself all to all.

When he came to print his manuscript, he was merciless in correcting proof. It was at this time that the great expense of these corrections determined him to do what he had long thought of, establish a printing press at Stresa. The license of the Government was at that time required for even a private printing press ; he had applied for this permission, but it had been refused, although little difficulty seemed to be found in obtaining such permission, when there was question of the printing of infidel and seditious publications. However, at last in 1853 the license was granted, type, furniture, and machinery were purchased, but owing to Rosmini's death and other circumstances, nothing came of this project, though it would certainly be according to the Founder's mind to carry out such a work.¹

It has been said that among Rosmini's other works of charity, one was hospitality. In these last years of his life, as he was more known by reason of his writings and the part he had taken in public affairs, he was sought by many distinguished men who came from all parts to visit him.

Among the visitors in those days were Father Lacordaire, the Abbé Bonnechose, afterwards Cardinal, the present Cardinal Newman, the late Cardinal Wiseman. The latter came to thank Rosmini for the use of his carriages. These had been bought when, by order of the Pope, he had to prepare himself for the Cardinalate, and they had not as yet been sold, when Archbishop Wiseman went to Rome to receive the Cardinal's hat on his appointment as the head of the newly created English Hierarchy.

¹ In England something has been done in this direction. St Joseph's Press has been long established in connection with our Fathers in London. English Translations of Rosmini's Psychology and other works have been printed there, and at Market Weighton Reformatory they have their printing press.

Among distinguished Italian laymen and others who frequently came to share Rosmini's hospitality at Stresa, were, first of all, Alessandro Manzoni, also Marchese Gustavo Cavour, brother of the Minister, Professors Pestalozza and Corte, and Ruggero Bonghi.

Manzoni generally spent the autumn at Lesa on the Lago Maggiore, where his son-in-law, Count Stampa, had a villa. The two friends in their walks along the Lago often met at a certain rock, which Rosmini called the "Pillars of Hercules," beyond which he did not pass, if he happened not to meet Manzoni at the usual spot; but often Manzoni would return with him to Stresa, and sometimes he would pass several days there, a welcome guest. Corte, Pestalozza, and Bonghi often formed part of their company at dinner; and in the heat of summer they would adjourn to the cypress grove or the shady vine-trellised walks in the garden.

Pestalozza and Corte were profound theologians and philosophers, formed in the school of Rosmini. They have each published admirable compendiums of his philosophy for the use of youth. Bonghi was a young Neapolitan, formed under Rosmini, from the time he came to him, a youth of twenty, of great promise. Rosmini retained him in his house, as his means were narrow, in order that he might pursue his studies.

It would be impossible (writes Don Paoli, who was always present), to describe the intellectual delight of those *conversazioni*. If they had been written down they would have formed an intensely interesting volume of *Horæ Rosminianæ*. They included every subject, Religion, Politics, Philosophy, History, and Belles Lettres. Rosmini and Manzoni naturally took the lead, the others spoke sufficiently to show that they were interested listeners. We leave to those who know Rosmini's works and those of the author of the *Promessi Sposi*, to imagine the fineness and sweet aroma, justness, and religiousness of the conversations of the two most beautiful minds of Italy, Rosmini and Manzoni.

When these friends stayed with Rosmini, they lived, of their own choice, in the Religious house as if they had been Religious. They rose with the community, assisted at Rosmini's Mass, sat with him at table, while the reading went on as usual. They went out to walk together, or sat under the shade of the cypress grove in the garden, discoursing of Plato and Virgil, St. Augustine and St. Thomas.

Some of these conversations suggested to Bonghi the matter for his *Stresiane*, or *Conversations at Stresa*, published after Rosmini's death. Some of these are on the sublime subject of *Creation*, and other profound and kindred matter; but whether the young Neapolitan has caught and accurately represented the doctrine of these conversations, may be left for those to say who have read the magnificent treatment of the mystery of Creation which Rosmini has left in writing, in his *Teosofia* (Vol. i. Nos. 302-310, 450-490).

Who can say if Signor Bonghi, Deputy and ex-Minister of Public Instruction, is the Roggero Bonghi of those days of his youth at Stresa? Rosmini, himself a born *leader of thought*, shrank from the terrible responsibilities of public life. In this, as in many other things, he reminds me of no one so much as of another great man whom I have known, himself a great *leader of thought*, who has well expressed this shrinking from the snares of name, influence, and power.

"Deny me wealth, keep far removed the lure of power and name, Faith shines in straits, in weakness hope, and love in this world's shame."

But at Rosmini's house might be met not only the most distinguished men of Italy, but he was visited by men of mark, Bishops, Legists, Statesmen, from England, France, Germany, and America.

To the Jesuit Fathers he gave loving hospitality when they came over the Simplon Pass as fugitives, driven by the Radicals out of Switzerland. They were entertained in Rosmini's Houses, and at a time when the rude people of Stresa, owing to the prejudices against

the Jesuits which had crossed the mountains from Switzerland, would have shown them anything but courtesy. Rosmini's name, and the respect entertained for him, secured them from molestation, and helped them on their way. In fact, he shared in some quarters the unpopularity of his guests, and was well abused in some of the so-called Liberal Journals.

This exercise of the spirit of Christian hospitality, as well to our own brethren, when on their journeys or coming for change of air to any of our houses, as also to Priests, members of other Orders, and to laymen also, especially to those who came for Retreats, was a special point with Rosmini, and he recommended it greatly to all the Rectors of Houses, so far as the means of the House admitted, and so far also as it did not interfere with Religious discipline and the spirit of retirement and recollection.

In the afternoons, or in summer in the cool of the evening, Rosmini always invited his guests and the priests of his household to walk with him. His usual walk was along the vine-clad path which borders the Lago. When Manzoni was with them he walked rather slower, because this better suited Manzoni, who was several years older than Rosmini, and not nearly so vigorous.

The conversation (says Don Paoli) was not always serious, it was always cheerful, never frivolous. With men of literature the discourse was of letters ; with artists, of art ; with scientific men, of science ; with his friends, on all subjects. To give one more picture of the beauty and simplicity of his character, I will mention an instance, one of many I remember, of the way in which Rosmini could pass from the grave to the gay, ending in a sort of boyish playfulness.

We were walking along the strand of the Lago, between Stresa and Baveno. It was one day in the last year of his life. We were talking familiarly of many things, when Rosmini said, "I am

thinking, whether one can find any way of explaining the motion of bodies, without recurring to the *corporeal principle*."

Rosmini then went on to develop his profound theory of matter and space, which is too abstruse and lengthy to be extracted. Don Paoli continues—

So discoursing we arrived in front of the Isola Bella. Here we stopped for a few moments in the deep silence of thought. "Look," said he, breaking silence, "at that scene of marvellous beauty; the azure vault of heaven, the mountains with their snow-capped summits, the flower-clad hills and fair villas reflecting their forms in the placid and limpid mirror of the lake! From the beauty of corporeal nature let us rise to the greater beauty of the intellectual and moral creation, and thence to the divine beauty of the ideal essences, and last of all to God, Whom in spirit and in truth, through the intelligent and moral nature, all creation continually adores."

See next the contrast—

In silent thought we walked on (says Don Paoli) until we came upon the pebbly beach of the lake,—here Rosmini began picking up the smoothest, thinnest stones he could find, and then we all set to work to play "ducks and drakes" as the children call it. It was a charming thing to watch Rosmini, and see the energy with which he sent his stones skimming along the smooth surface of the lake, and his delight when he succeeded in getting his pebble to make more leaps than ours before it sank into the water.

We then gravely sauntered along the shore watching the sunset, and took our way back to Stresa, talking as we did in common of many things besides metaphysics.

After the walk, as has been said, came always the time which he devoted to answering the letters of the morning.

The greater was the concourse of persons to visit him in these latter years, the greater also was the amount of his epistolary correspondence.

His letters constitute a perfect treasury of wisdom, especially in regard of the spiritual direction of souls.

He generally answered every letter on the day when he received it, and usually in his own handwriting. To this duty of charity he devoted the evenings of each day. His charity was seen not only in the pains he took to answer each letter with a completeness that left nothing to be desired, but also in the clearness and precision of his handwriting. Whatever may be thought of the reading of character by handwriting, this at least is clear, that a slovenly handwriting, though not seldom seen in persons of high moral worth, does not show forth their good points, and, giving unnecessary trouble to correspondents, is in this not mindful of charity. Is it not possible that such handwriting may be a sign, at least, that there was a time when the writer did not take pains to do his best, but had the moral faults of too great haste, and too little reflection? Rosmini's handwriting makes one think once more of Cardinal Newman. There is a certain similarity in their handwriting, which strikes one as characteristic of men who, so far as one can judge, have always made it a conscientious duty to do what they did thoroughly. "Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy heart."

Every letter of Rosmini is characterised by simplicity and absence of all affectation. Even the ceremonial beginnings and endings of letters, which are in Italy much more elaborate than with us, were, with Rosmini, no empty compliments. Such, Don Paoli tells us, was his veneration for the personality of every man, and still more of the Christian in whom he recognised the divine light of reason, and the supernatural presence of God; as also for dignity of office in Church and State, and the gifts of nature and of Grace, that the titles of *Illustrissimo Signore*, *Chairissimo*, *Veneratissimo*, and *Carissimo fratello in Christo*, were with him no mere phrases. To one who objected to these as exaggerated, as also, to subscrib-

ing oneself *umilissimo servitore* and the like, he replied that the thought had never occurred to him, for that he really meant what he wrote, in all simplicity. The piety in his letters was an undercurrent that could not help coming to the surface ; it was evidently from the heart, not conventional phraseology. Largeness of mind, the breadth, tenderness, and delicacy of feeling of a perfect human heart, the spirituality of the Christian, the unction of the priest, the prudence of one born to guide others, the wisdom of the Christian philosopher, stand out in this collection of letters like the flowers of every variety of form and colour in a beautiful garden.

All through the time of the examination of his works in Rome, Don Paoli, his constant companion, testifies that he never showed the least irritation at the false accusations brought against him. He excused them all, as dictated by an exaggerated zeal for the faith, and never allowed anyone to say in his hearing a harsh word, on account of the bitter things that were written in books, reviews, and journals.

This is the spirit which breathes in all the letters of Rosmini during the trying four years while his works were under examination.

Three days before the sentence was pronounced, he ordered Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in all our Churches, and on the day of the decision he was to be seen in the Church before the Altar fixed in prayer. When the news came by post from the Procurator in Rome that the sentence was a complete acquittal, it need not be said how heartfelt was the *Te Deum* that arose from before every Altar served by the Rosminian Fathers.

At the end of Don Paoli's Narrative of these last days at Stresa, of which I have given the substance, and sometimes the words, we come upon a thing so strange that one

does not see what to say upon it. I transcribe the words of Don Paoli:—

We do not think we can pass over, since it is historical, the narrative of an atrocious attempt on the life of this Servant of God, and especially because it has given occasion to various expressions of opinion. This is what I find written by the hand of Antonio Rosmini in one of his Diaries in the year 1852:—"There entered to-day the garden at Stresa a person well dressed in black, with a blue overcoat. Having found there Antonio Carli, he asked if he was Cameriere of the Abate Rosmini? On his answering that he was, this person said that he had a favour to ask of him, that it was a very small matter, but that if he would do what he asked, he would receive a large sum of money. He then drew from his pocket a small vial, and asked him to pour the liquid it contained into the coffee or chocolate that Rosmini took of a morning. Carli, frightened out of his wits, rejected the proposal, on which the stranger told him at once not to disturb himself, and, quietly leaving the garden, went straight to the border of the Lake just opposite, where he had a boat with three or four rowers ready, he entered, and so went off. (February 25, Ash Wednesday, 1852)."

If this were not vouched for in Rosmini's own hand, it is a thing one would pass over as too marvellous to be worth recording. But Rosmini evidently believed it, and he might well do so, since it rested on the statement of his faithful lay-brother Antonio, a man of remarkable common sense, and the last man in the world to imagine or invent a marvellous tale.

In connection with this, another fact may be mentioned. Some time before his last illness began, Rosmini was obliged to accept an invitation to a large dinner party on occasion of some family festival at Rovereto.

After the guests were gone, Rosmini said very quietly, but seriously, to one who was in his confidence, "I am poisoned. There was something put into my soup; say nothing about it."

In fact, Rosmini was never well from that day. He

spoke of the matter to no one except to this one relative, but refused to give any clue whatever as to his suspicions. It was never mentioned till after Rosmini's death, and then only as a thing about which he had refused to give any clue, and forbade it to be investigated.

Conjecture, of course, has not been altogether inactive; but the only thing that would seem likely is that some of the desperate anarchists of Italy, agents of the Secret Societies, who attempted the life of King Charles Albert some years before, may have thought that the removal of Rosmini would prevent any return to such moderate Constitutional Government of the Papal States, as Rosmini had done his best to promote, but which it had been the object of the Revolution to overthrow. Thus the reactionary party around the Pope had laboured to destroy Rosmini's credit with the Pope by the charges of heresy, and it may be that the other extreme party took a bolder line and struck at his life. If so, the last was the more successful. The state of Rosmini's body almost immediately after death was so entirely abnormal, that the physicians thought it exhibited signs of poison, and were urgent for a post-mortem examination. This was resisted by those who were in authority, on the ground that there were no proofs against any one, and that it was useless to raise the question as to the remote causes of the access of disease, as there was evidence enough that he had died from an aggravation of the chronic affection of the liver, from which he had suffered for years. It was only after some years that they heard from the relative of Rosmini what I have mentioned above, that it was Rosmini's own opinion that he had been poisoned.

Some have thought that these two attempts on Rosmini's life came from a person of high position, and that

it was a piece of private revenge. It had been Rosmini's duty on certain occasions to reprove a person of rank for scandalous conduct. She denied it or defended herself, and Rosmini, seeing he could do no good, left her, saying that if she neglected his warning God would punish her. Very soon after she died suddenly. The other party implicated, who was unknown except to Rosmini, it is supposed by some, vowed vengeance, and that Rosmini's death was his revenge.

Whatever may have been the motive of the act, many about Rosmini have never doubted that his death was brought about by poison, and that he showed his charity and love of his enemies in that he left them to the judgment and mercy of God.

CHAPTER III.

ANECDOTES AND REMINISCENCES OF ROSMINI BY FATHER SIGNINI.

(A.D. 1835-1845.)

THE whole of the substance of this *Life of Rosmini* is, as has been said, taken principally from the Italian *Life* by Don Francesco Paoli, who had exceptional means of knowing Rosmini intimately, as his Secretary and daily companion for at least twenty years.

After Don Paoli no one perhaps now living has enjoyed equal opportunities of knowing Rosmini in the earlier years at Monte Calvario and Stresa than Father Fortunatus Signini, who was for a considerable time his amanuensis and private Secretary.

What Father Signini has to tell of his personal reminiscences of Rosmini will have a special interest for English and Irish readers, since he has been domiciled with us ever since 1845, and has been long known as an eloquent and zealous mission preacher. He began this work with Fathers Rinolfi and Furlong, and in the course of many years has preached missions in many of the principal towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and has given many retreats to colleges, seminaries, and convents. Next he was the laborious parish priest for many years of Cardiff, and has been of late domiciled at St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place, in London, and engaged as the principal translator and editor of the works of Rosmini in their English version.

Father Signini, writing from Ratcliffe College in July 1881, says :

I begin to write these anecdotes in order to obey the desire of my Superiors. I have always had the thought in my mind of committing to writing some of the things I have observed in the person of our venerable Father Founder; but I gave up the notion, because it seemed to me that I could say nothing that others could not say better, who were still living and had lived with our Father longer than I had done.

What follows will be given in the form of an original narrative, not as a quotation.

In the years 1844 and '45 I began to make some notes day by day of what I witnessed of his actions and words. These, however, I destroyed for the reasons I have just given, but now I think some of the things I then wrote might be better worth recording than those I remember at present. What I write, however, I have a perfect consciousness of remembering accurately.

The first time I ever saw our Father Founder was about the month of June 1836 when he came to the House of Monte Calvario at Domodossola. I was then a Novice, and nineteen years of age. Having heard such great things about him, especially from Father Molinari, then our Master of Novices, I felt much struck at his great air of simplicity, humility, meekness, and modesty. Wonderful, said I to myself, why this great man is like a humble little child; and my esteem and admiration of him was greatly increased.

At that time I was subject to a terrible state of scruples, which made me almost habitually appear sad and dejected. How often, when I met that holy man here or there, did he turn on me his countenance, smiling and joyful, and, with a mere word, filled me with courage and consolation! I could not help being moved by his exquisite and watchful charity to venerate and love him more and more.

Once I remember going to him with some thought, I forget what, that tormented me. He answered with that beautiful familiar smile—"Why, look here, I suffer in the same way ; quite lately I had a fixed thought from which I could not free myself. It was the word *campanino* that I could not get rid of ; wherever I went I kept repeating it." In this answer I trace two virtues—the one of charity, in his ready sympathy with my trouble, the other of humility, in his thus opening his own weakness (if I may call it so) to a mere young novice of a few months like me.

I remember Father Molinari telling us how Father Founder, on occasion of a former visit to Calvario, as they were walking up the steep ascent of the Mount, and before speaking of any other matters, asked, in a peculiarly impressive tone, this question—"Is there the spirit of union and charity amongst the brethren?" This showed clearly what he wished to be the characteristic spirit prevailing in the Houses of the Institute.

One of the lay brothers at Calvario, Giuseppe Bisogni, a man of great piety, had had leave from Father Molinari to spend the free time he could spare after his daily labours in the garden, in writing a Treatise on Humility. Our Father heard of this, and the next time Giuseppe asked penance in the Refectory, he was told to go and bring his manuscript and put it into the fire. This the good brother did immediately with great cheerfulness, and we never heard of him as an author again.

These are the things I remember at Calvario. The Noviciate was removed, on the Vigil of the Assumption, 1836, to Stresa, to a small house called the Casino, on the site of the present College, given to Father Founder by Madame Bolongaro. The new Master of Novices

was Father Francesco Puecher. We were eight Novices ; of these, three were afterwards sent to England—Nicholas Lorrain, Angelo Rinolfi, and myself.

“If you will do as I bid you, I promise you will be cured in a month.” So said Father Founder to me, when the new Master of Novices, being unable to do any good with this refractory scrupulous brother, turned me over to Father Founder. I had already played the same tricks with Father Molinari. Father Founder then made me his amanuensis, which placed me in easy access to him. In this office I continued up to May 1837, when for a time, during the enlargement of the house at Stresa, the Noviciate was transferred to San Michele.

In consequence of my stupid disobedience, even he had a vast deal of trouble with my importunities. Sometimes I disturbed him even after he had gone to bed. What patience did that holy man use with me all those nine months! Thanks be to God that, in His Providence, I fell into such hands. I should otherwise, I am sure, have been sent away as a perfect imbecile, and perhaps ended in a lunatic asylum, or worse.

In case any one who reads this should happen to have to deal with a similar case of this terrible malady, in which sometimes the evil spirit tempts even to suicide, I will, for his information, mention some facts of Father Founder's mode of treatment :—

1. It would seem he considered it, to a certain extent, a kind of possession ; for I remember distinctly that once, when I was at Confession in his room, he said over me some exorcism of the malignant spirit, commanding him, in the Name of Jesus Christ, to cease tormenting me further.

2. For a time he forbade me to make any examination of conscience, even in preparation for the weekly

Confession. He wanted to distract me from self-introspection. Unfortunately, I generally disobeyed this rule, and worried my brain with examining my conscience, I know not how often in the day.

3. He forbade me even to think about *when* I was to go to Confession, and made me come for it without any previous notice. "Now," he would say, "kneel down, make an act of contrition for all your sins. Tell me now what you can remember;" and notwithstanding all my agitation, he would give me absolution.

4. Once when we were in Turin, lodging at the house of the Barnabites, in the Via San Dalmazzo, he gave me permission to go to Confession to one of those Fathers. Had I obeyed his directions as to the time I was to spend in my preparation, I should have been back to him in about half an hour, but, following my own way, I did not return for some hours, and he was waiting for his amanuensis. When at last I came back, he, shrewdly suspecting, it would seem, how matters had gone with me, asked "Have you made your Confession?" Truth compelled me to answer, "No;" on which he said, "Very well, you will go to Communion to-morrow without going to Confession." I remonstrated, but he was firm.

He was at that time engaged in dictating his *Treatise on Conscience*, and as the principle that ruled his actions was to follow Divine Providence in all things, I feel convinced that he took the occasion of my scruples to observe the case (and he was wonderful in observation), and, in consequence, was led to dictate the part of that treatise which treats on *Scruples*.

In December that same year, our Father took four of us to Novara to receive, some one, some another Order. As we stood in the great ante-camera of the Cardinal-Bishop, among a number of persons waiting, the priest

who was Master of Ceremonies came up in the usual way to ask for the Father's name. On hearing "Abate Rosmini," he, with more enthusiasm than good taste, suddenly broke out into such exclamations as, "What! Rosmini! that man of European fame, the great Philosopher!" &c., &c., with many profound bows before him. It was a wonder to see it, and how every one turned his eyes on Rosmini with expressions of profound respect. Poor dear Father! I think I can see him now, mute, mortified, his eyes cast down, blushing with shame!

It was on occasion of this journey to Novara that I had the privilege of introducing him, at his own request, to my uncle, Father Pagani, who was then still a secular priest, and, although only twenty-nine years of age, Spiritual Director of the Theological Seminary of that large diocese. The interview, at which I was present, lasted some three quarters of an hour, and it turned, among other subjects, on the motives by which young men should be incited to diligence in study. With that simple confidence, which was one of Rosmini's characteristics when conversing with persons of whose intelligence and virtue he had a high opinion, he, among other things, said, "Once, when I was in my Humanities, our Professor, after looking over a little composition which I had written on the theme he had set to the class, came out in these words, 'Bravo, Rosmini, go on in this way, and you will do great honour to yourself and to your family.' This observation gave me much pain, for I thought it a shame to think that I should do my duty in order to do honour to myself and not for the love of God." These words, spoken with manifest sincerity, made a great impression on Pagani. But what struck him even more forcibly was what he told me afterwards. "Look, here was

a man who, being the founder of a Religious Order, must naturally feel great interest in its success. He knows that, as Spiritual Director of this seminary, I might be of use to him in sending him valuable subjects; and yet he never in the remotest way led to conversation in that direction. What a spirit of detachment! what a man of God!" Father Pagani soon after joined the Institute, and it was ordained by God that he should be Rosmini's successor in the office of Superior General.

Once, I remember, when he was dictating the *Treatise on Conscience*, he cited an author, *Steuco da Gubbio*. Forgetful of the profoundness of his train of thought, I broke in vivaciously, "Steuco da Gubbio! who was he? I never heard of him." The Father, half amused, half serious, said, "They won't read, they won't read." This is a specimen of his perfect self-command, humility, and gentleness when people forgot themselves.

I was walking with him one day in Turin. We were on the Via delle Orfane, near the Church of San Dalmazzo, and he was deep in thought. All of a sudden he turned to me, saying, "Oh, what would I give to have five minutes talk with St. Thomas! I am sure we should understand one another and perfectly agree." Then he relapsed into silence, and we went on our way.

It was in Lent, and as he had that day to dine late somewhere, he took his small collation early, not, however, without sending the lay brother to ask permission of his Confessor, a Jesuit Father, as he always did on similar occasions. After some time he looked about the table, saying, "What has become of my bread?" I had seen him eating it, but he was quite absorbed in thought. I replied, in my blunt way, "Father, your bread has all gone down into your stomach!" "What," said he, "is it so? Well, well, then the collation is

finished, let us go to our work." This abstraction at meals was very common with him.

He was sitting while the barber was making ready to shave him one day, when he came out thus with the greatest simplicity: "Study it now, and you will see that the image of the Most Holy Trinity is to be found in everything, in all corporeal things, down to a grain of sand, or an atom."

We were speaking once on the Most Holy Eucharist, when he said, "I formed my theory of bodies purely from the study of bodies, without at all thinking of the Mystery of the Eucharist. But to my surprise, and great satisfaction, I afterwards came to observe that this theory agreed perfectly with the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist, and enabled me in great part to understand it. Mind well, I do not say that it is no mystery; mystery there is, and always will be, but for me the mystery is further back."

One evening he had an unusually sharp attack of rheumatism, an ailment by no means uncommon with him, and I saw his shoulders writhing as he stood at his desk. He looked at me and smiled, saying, "You see the little devil is tormenting me." I answered: "Do you say it is the devil that gives you the rheumatism?" "I am sure of it," he said, in a way that showed he was in earnest, although he spoke in a jocular tone. I have no doubt he held the opinion that all, or the greater part of, diseases are the work of demons. In connection with this, I know not whether suggested by something said by the Father or not, comes to my mind the phrase used in the Gospel, *spiritum infirmitatis* (Luke xiii. 11), "the spirit of infirmity," and in verse 16, the infirm person is said to have been "bound by Satan for eighteen years;" and the Father believed that the devil is literally the Angel of Death.

At the table of the Barnabites, in Turin, there was dining one day with us a gentleman of considerable position from Borgomanero. He had brought his son, a youth of about fifteen, to place him at some college, either at the Military School or at that of the Nobles, then conducted, I forget whether by the Jesuits or not. About the end of dinner he began, in presence of all, to give his son, with a grave and impressive air, his last paternal advice before leaving him in Turin. In substance it was, "Attend well to your studies, so that you may pass good examinations and do honour to yourself," and nothing more. When he ceased speaking there was silence, and Rosmini waited to see if any one would speak, but as no one seem disposed to do so, he said in a tone of the greatest courtesy, modesty, and sweetness: "And I hope that he will remember the holy fear of God." At this the gentleman, who was evidently struck by his words, said, "Oh, of course, that is understood; that is the principal thing." When we had gone to our rooms, the Father said to me, "Well, here is a curious thing. Look at this; the holy fear of God was the principal thing, and yet that father had not a word to say to his son about it. Is it not strange?"

In the house of the Barnabites of San Dalmazzo we were cordially entertained for about three months. All of them were men of weight for virtue, science, and culture, and were open-hearted and loyal friends then as now. One day Father Manini, with whom I went for a walk, said to me: "Don Benedetto" (so he always called me, I do not know why, unless it was a play on Fortunato, which was my name), "you are *fortunate* to be with such a Superior, who, without doubt, is a great man (grand'uomo). I do not wish to be one of those who, out of false humility, call them-

selves *blockheads*. No ; I believe that I have received from God a certain amount of ability" [I may say that he was a man of great gifts], "and I thank God for His goodness to me in this. I know the works of your Father, and I tell you that when I am reading them I seem to see in him one of the Fathers of the Church." This was in 1837.

In the spring of 1837 the Father was embarrassed for want of money for the house at San Michele, which had been given him by the King. There was an income attached to it. Father Gilardi, our Procurator, had applied in vain, time after time, at the Royal Office of Ecclesiastical Affairs for payment of arrears. At last, on a particular morning, the Father said to Gilardi : "Go and ask for the money, and have confidence in God." As soon as Don Gilardi had left the room, the Father stopped his dictation and went and knelt down at his *priedieu*, where he remained praying a considerable time. Father Gilardi came back quite joyful with a good sum of money. The Father quietly observed : "I prayed to our Lord, and I knew you would come back with the money."

The conversation during dinner with the Barnabites turned one day on "what of all things in this world was most desirable." When all the others had expressed their opinions, the Father answered : "First, *to be* in the Grace of God ; and, secondly, *to know* it, if this were possible."

King Charles Albert wished the Father to place in his hands the Book of the Constitutions of the Institute, in order that he might have it examined by the Royal Council, so that the Institute might obtain the recognition of the law and be placed under the State protection. The Father did not at all care for this. The affair came to nothing, for these great personages wanted

him to change the mode of holding property, so that it should be by corporate and not by individual ownership. The Father had told the King that this was impossible, because it was of the essence of the Society. I well remember how pleased he was when he came back with the book of the Constitutions under his arm, and told me of this result. He said: "Give thanks to *Domeneddio* that He has saved us from a danger. It is enough for me to have the protection of our Lord and of His Church; I want no other."

On a certain evening I saw he was intensely occupied in reading a book just then published by the unfortunate De la Mennais. I think it was *Les affaires de Rome*. He seemed filled with the most sorrowful compassion for the author, and from time to time broke out with the words: "Oh, poor man, you are lost!" "What folly!" "You certainly are insane!" and the like. From that reading came, if I am not mistaken, the impulse to write to de la Mennais a long and beautiful letter, full of fraternal charity, which he dictated to me while he lay ill in bed at San Michale della Chiusa, and which is one of his published letters.

In connection with the above, I will mention a fact that happened some time before 1837, and which was related to me. The Father was in Turin, and there he met with the Abbé de la Mennais, and invited him to come and spend some days with him, in order to compare their ideas. De la Mennais said: "Abate, I cannot remain, for the interests of Religion require my presence in France." There was something, I know not what, in the tone of these words, as spoken by de la Mennais, that caused in Rosmini's heart a great fear of that terrible fall which followed soon after. In passing through Novara after his interview with de la Mennais, he was asked by Cardinal Morozzo, "What he

thought about him." He replied: "As your Eminence obliges me to speak, it is most painful to me to have to say that I greatly fear that this man will be lost through pride."

I do not remember to have known any one who had a greater horror of pride than our Father.

I remember once writing to his dictation a reply to a certain brother who pretended to justify his criticising the arrangements made by Superiors, by saying that he loved to speak out his mind with candour. "There are," said the Father, "two sorts of candour, the candour of humility and the candour of pride. The first is a loveable virtue; but beware of the second, for its indulgence would lead you to ruin." Unfortunately that brother did not take the warning, and, notwithstanding all the efforts which the Father made to save him, the candour of pride caused him, in the end, to leave us.

I have often seen him wait at the common table as one of the humblest lay brothers, and by looking at him while thus ministering, one could not help believing that he acted as a man who sincerely felt that he was then in his right place.

This practice, however (as I heard from those who knew the fact), once gave occasion to a somewhat amusing episode. On Cardinal Morozzo's first visit to Calvario, before he had seen our Father, the latter opened the door, dressed as he was for serving in the kitchen. His Eminence asked if Abate Rosmini was at home. He said, yes; and having shown the Cardinal into the parlour, went to his cell, put on his best cassock, and presented himself.

I remember once only that he seemed unable to finish a thing which he was dictating. This was a letter he wanted to write to Pope Gregory XVI.,

asking His Holiness to take in hand the cause of the *Approbation* of the Institute. He began—then he began again—he thought, and thought again—suspended what he was dictating—went on and again stopped—it was useless ; he had to leave it. It would seem that the moment was not opportune for what he intended. In all other cases when he had once made a beginning, whether it were a letter or any other writing, he went on without any interruption. It was very seldom that he paused, and then it was only for a few seconds, or that he made me change a word, as may be seen in the manuscripts if they still exist.

We were walking one evening in Via Dora Grossa at Turin, and he said something to me to which I could not reply without alluding to the contents of a letter I had lately written at his dictation. I said : “ Father, this is a matter on which I cannot speak ; you know why.” He answered : “ Bravo ! that is the way to act ; *not even to me* must you ever speak about things in letters unless I expressly invite you to do so.” I have mentioned this because it may be of use to some Secretary.

Once he said to me : “ I have by nature a great vein of satire, and I must take care to restrain it ; it would be a terrible thing if I gave way to this humour.” I think this was when he was dictating an answer to a certain Professor of Lombardy, who had attacked him with horrible personal abuse. He had long kept silence ; but at last wrote when his friend Count Mellerio and other gentlemen and persons of authority assured him that the honour of truth and of religion was at stake. This was at the end of 1836 or the beginning of 1837.

From about the end of August of 1836 till May of 1837, I being then a Cleric used generally to serve his

daily Mass. And I declare solemnly that in the whole course of my life (and my age at the moment I am writing is sixty-nine), although I have known many Priests eminent for virtue and piety, I have never seen one single Mass celebrated with that stupendous perfection of recollection, intense absorption, and fervour of devotion, with which our Father always celebrated. I say expressly *always*; for even when he was through illness physically low in spirits, I never saw that it made any difference in his way of saying Mass. From the moment when he turned his steps towards the Sacristy until his return after his thanksgiving, he seemed as if he did not belong to this earth; and one felt a certain holy fear to disturb by an unnecessary word one so wholly absorbed in sacred things.

If one can speak of one thing more than another, where all had in it a beauty that penetrated the soul, it was of the genuflections which he made when he saw Christ come into his hands at the Consecration. Oh, what genuflections were these! I have never seen any like them. How clearly did they manifest a soul in the profoundest depth of adoration. They would seem enough to have converted an unbeliever to the august Mystery of the Real Presence.

Once when we were sitting together at *collation* on a fasting day, I had the impudence to say to him: "Father, we read in the lives of the Saints that they used great austerities, fasting, and the like. Why do you not do the same?" Instead of correcting me, the blessed man took the matter quite quietly, and with downcast eyes, like one who felt confused in his own presence, said: "Because I do not feel called by God to the things you speak of."

Speaking of his humility with his inferiors, I remember another fact. On the day when the Noviciate was

transferred from Calvario to Stresa, we had all to stop for dinner at an inn at Ornavasso (on the Simplon road). We were all together in the inn parlour, and were talking as usual, when Father Löwenbrück, who was of the party, fixed his eyes on the black Calotta (*Anglice*, skull-cap), which the Father had on his head, and exclaimed that "the tassel on the Calotta was too large and quite unbecoming religious simplicity and modesty;" then, without more ado he took a pair of scissors, and cut the round tassel in presence of all, to what he considered more modest dimensions. It was a beautiful sight to see the Father quietly smiling, without saying a word, during the operation.

Here I finish my own personal reminiscences, of the time when I was our Father's amanuensis from August 1836 to May 1837. On the 8th of May I was sent by the Father to San Michele della Chiusa; and at the beginning of the October following I received his orders to set out for England together with Don Angelo Rinolfi, to go to the College of Prior Park near Bath.

I remember we were charged in passing through Paris to call on Professor Victor Cousin, and present him Rosmini's respects, and a small work which I had written to his dictation, *La Sommaria Cagione*, &c., a work on Politics. M. Cousin received us with great politeness, and after having asked many questions about Rosmini and his Institute, exclaimed, "*Vous avez un grand but !*"

Owing to various causes I found myself again on the 8th July 1843 in the Noviciate House at Stresa. About the middle of October I was made Socius to the Master of Novices, Father Puecher; and on the 27th of March 1844 I was named Secretary to Father Founder, together with Father Gilardi, or Don Carlo Gilardi,

for it is the custom in Italy to call us Don, not Father, as in England. Rosmini was always known to the people around as Don Antonio, though we always called him "Padre." This office of Secretary I held till May 14, 1845, when I was sent back to England, and I never saw our Father again.

While I was Socius I often saw him. He used to say, "Talk much with the Novices ; do not spare words, for words are the great means ordained by our Lord for instructing and animating men to good. In speaking of good things to others, you will do good to your own soul, and become yourself more fervent in spirit. I take this thought from St. Augustine, who in some part of his writings says the same of himself."

More than once I went to him on the question of admitting Postulants. I was very ready to say that I did not think this one or that had the qualities and dispositions essential for vocation to our Institute ; but he corrected me rather smartly, saying : " We must beware of hasty judgments against people ; we must go on patiently and without prejudice, otherwise we might incur the grave responsibility of sending away subjects destined for us by our Lord." In this matter he abounded in the spirit of charity.

When I became his secretary he gave me the charge of reading over the Constitutions, which had been fresh copied, in order to see if there were any literal errors, or if I had any observations to make upon any of them. I asked him one day : " But, Father, if the members have legal possession of property in their own name, some one might turn rascal and go off with a large sum." He answered : " Let him go ; the Institute would make a good bargain in getting rid of a Judas so cheaply."

He never would allow that he was the Founder of

the Institute. I said to him one day, "But, Father, how is this? Did you not write the Constitutions which are the foundation of the Institute?" He answered, "The Constitutions are not any work of mine, they did not come from my mind. The plan of the Institute was given me, without my having studied it; I saw it one morning, presented before me instantaneously, entire as you see it described in that book. Such as I then saw it, such it is there, except some minor matters of detail." Then he told me how the affair happened between himself and the Marchesa Canossa, and how the matter was first suggested by her, and took shape afterwards as he had said.

One of our Fathers from England wished him to change a sentence in the *Maxims of Christian Perfection* (which are included in our book of Rules); the words were, "The Church of the Elect which can never perish." He considered the matter, and then said with great emphasis, "Not a word even should be changed in that book." From these things it would seem he was convinced that the *Maxims* as well as the *Constitutions* were written by him under a secret divine influence. This only would account for one who was so humble and ready to assent to the views of others, speaking on this matter with such positive assurance.

Suddenly one day he said to me, "There are three things which lead us poor men to make false judgments on the ways of Divine Providence." "What are these, Father?" said I. He replied, "*Corta vita, corta vista, corta pazienza*" (short life, short sight, short patience). Whoever reads the *Theodicy* will see this thought fully developed.

One day he said to me, "I feel that I am beginning to get old" (he was then about forty-seven), "before these last few years my mind was always clear as the sunlight,

there was no cloud before it, I saw the truth clearly, no obscurity disturbed my vision. But now a cloud sometimes comes up before me, I am obliged to stop a while in the effort to get at the direct vision of the truth."

"Look at this quill pen," he said one day. "We began to use it eighteen months ago ; here is the date." I had used the pen every day. Each morning the first thing the Father did was to mend my pen, cutting off the minutest shaving. He added some good advice about the duty of using things with due regard and economy.

Sometimes when I have looked on his countenance I have felt a reverential awe come over me which forced me to turn my eyes away. I saw in those eyes a brilliancy so extraordinary, and as it were ethereal, that in my astonishment I said to myself: He has the look not of a mortal man, but of one of the heavenly intelligences! At these moments one saw two veins converging at the base of the forehead, swollen in an extraordinary manner. Who can say what was the altitude and vastness of the thoughts that were rushing through that grand mind in these moments!

Once he was describing to me familiarly the series of works he had still in contemplation to write. At the end he said: "Then comes the *Agathology* (the science of good), but that we will write in Paradise!" He pronounced these last words with a sudden transport of fervour which it was a delight to behold. With a look of most intense desire he raised his eyes to heaven, stretched out both his arms on high, and raised himself so that his toes only touched the ground. It was but for an instant, but I think only a soul habitually full of the fire of Divine love, and longing after the possession of the heavenly country, could have acted on the body in this way.

He said to me one day : " Be sure of this, our mind is at work when we are not conscious of it. I have often found that having put a question aside of which I wanted to see the solution, and thought no more about it, when I turned to it again, after some interval, I found that my mind had already solved the question without my being conscious of it."

He said another time, speaking of unconscious thought : "It is not always true that when we say prayers rapidly we say them without intense attention and sense of the meaning of the words we utter. I have often found the contrary myself."

It was a delightful thing to make a journey with him. In the carriage he always kept himself very recollected, and was much in prayer. He spoke mostly of things belonging to our duties, or calculated to enlighten the mind on scientific matters, or on passages of Holy Scripture. But this he always did with such simplicity and modesty that one was never wearied ; every now and then he brought in something to raise a smile or cheerful laugh. From an observation he once made to me I could understand that he considered journeys had their special dangers and ought to be times of special prayer.

I asked him one day, " Father would it not be well if I devoted part of my time to reading the Holy Fathers?" Now he knew I had no time for this while I was his Secretary, and I think he could have kept four secretaries at work if he had had them. He answered me very gently with his eyes cast down, but with a manner that showed the conviction with which he spoke, " Signini, if you study my works you will find the Holy Fathers in them. Understand me, I do not mean to say that you will find all that the Holy Fathers of the Church wrote, but you will find the substance of what they thought on scientific subjects and religion." These

words made a great impression, because I knew he was so humble and so truthful that he would not have said this unless he had felt that he had good reason for it.

When I left him to go to England, I brought him a box of Rosaries that was in his room, saying, "Please, Father, give me one." He saw that I wanted out of reverence for him to receive one from his own hand, and in his humility said, "Take one yourself." I had to do so, saying, "I take one, Father, considering that you give it me," and he merely bowed his head.

He said once, "In correcting others, it is always best not to say, '*you* should not do this or that,' but '*we* should not,' or '*we* should do it.'" This seems very simple, but it is a useful thought.

I always observed that he filled up every free moment with prayer, as, for instance, when he was passing from his room to the house door to go for his walk. I think he always filled up the interval between one occupation and another in this way. He recommended me always to carry some good book about me to read in case I should have to wait anywhere.

I had gone through a two years' course of Philosophy at the Diocesan Seminaries, and had passed a good examination ; that is to say, I had repeated, by rote, the text as dictated by our Professor ; but as regards *understanding* any Philosophy, my mind was literally a *tabula rasa*. We were travelling to Novara, and he put into my hands a pamphlet containing a *Dialogue* on his Philosophy, entitled, *Il Moschini*, and told me to read it aloud. I did so, and interrupted the reading to ask many questions. I became deeply interested in the argument ; at last I exclaimed, "I see it, Father ! that which constitutes the faculty of *Reason* is that principle in us, in virtue of which we are able to say, and do say, this thing or that *exists* ! Is it so ?" He nodded

assent, but with such an expression of delight in his face as I shall never forget ; and I remember it all the more, because that moment was a great epoch in my intellectual life. Such was his joy when he saw that anyone had caught sight of a truth he had not seen before ; and this is a truth which, though it might seem elementary, is at the root of all thought and of all truth.

He was impartial in the highest degree in recognizing truth wherever he found it, without distinction of school or party. There was a certain book by, I think, Father Rozaven, a Jesuit, which he had just read, and I remember him saying, "I think that is the best book that has been printed in this century."

He was equally fair with authors, such as Kant, whom he confuted most forcibly. He recognized in Kant, and in all other writers, whatever truth there was mixed up with their errors. He has been blamed for this candour ; but is it not the same as the candour of the Holy Fathers who have recognized and incorporated into the Christian teaching whatever they found good in the Pagan Philosophers ?

One day I said to him, "Father, do you believe that these doctrines (speaking of his works in general) will be taken up by the world ?" He answered with vivacity, "*A furia, a furia*—but not yet—the world is not yet prepared. We must first be contradicted, die, and rot in the earth ; and '*allora sarà il tempo*,'" ("then the time will have come"). I seem to see him now as he spoke these words, which I have always looked on as a grand answer and a prophecy.

In the *Life* lately published in Italy by Don Paoli, he tells us of a horrible attempt on Rosmini's life in his later years. I will mention another imminent danger which he escaped by a similar Providence, and of which he told me himself. "Once," he said, "I was travelling

in the Neapolitan Kingdom with my friend Count Padulli of Milan. Arrived at a certain place, we stopped for the night at an inn. They had only one bedroom to give us. Padulli said his prayers and went to bed. Providence disposed me to sit up, in order to say Matins for the next day. I sat down at a table which stood against the wall with the candles lighted, when, just about midnight, I saw the portion of the wall that was behind the table begin slowly and without noise to recede, till there appeared a recess of the thickness of the wall ; then it began to turn aside, and through a fissure I saw an eye cautiously regarding me. Then immediately the wall came back as quietly as before to its place. I immediately roused Padulli, bid him rise, telling him the matter. We remained on guard, and with the first dawn of light we ordered our horses to the carriage, and went on our journey." There was evident danger in that lonely place, not merely of robbery, but of murder. We see in this a trait of that great fortitude which was characteristic of the Father. He was always master of himself.

He could not bear sophistries. Once I made a sophistical criticism. He said to me, "Mind this, I like discussions however subtle, but I do not like this question that you propose. Allow me to tell you it is sophistical and without good sense."

Speaking about vocation to our Institute, he said, "We should never invite any one to join this Order, but wait for God to send people to us, whom He will send. If, however, we are asked questions about the Institute, we may answer, because there is then a call of Providence." The Father strictly followed this rule.

About *preaching* he said, "In speaking to the common people you must touch upon *many things*. It is useless to keep them to one point, and attempt to develop it

fully, their attention does not follow you ; give them variety and speak with simplicity, and they will be satisfied and gain spiritual profit."

He used to say, in regard of treating with men : "Cavete ab hominibus—Beware of men. You will find that the simplicity of the dove must be accompanied by the prudence of the serpent. To be simple does not mean to be a simpleton. Take care that no one, by fine talk, leads you blindfold, however prepossessing he may seem."

Of the terrible force which an offence once taken may exercise on the soul, he said, emphatically, "Watch well here," pointing to his breast, "it may seem that the thing is passed, and so it may seem even for a long time, but the point of the arrow remains fixed within."

Father Signini concludes, "I do not remember any other things that I have myself noted during the time I had the supreme good fortune of being with our Father, but in general I may say that the impression left on me was this ; such intellectual and moral grandeur combined with such humility, modesty, and simplicity, made him, in all respects, the most extraordinary man I have ever known, leading, as he did, a life which seemed quite ordinary. No other man has ever presented to me in so high a degree the likeness of the life on earth of our Lord and Saviour.

"I declare that in whatever I have said, I have followed conscience, and the substance of what I have said is what I would say if I were on my death-bed, and had then the clear memory of the events which I have now."

CHAPTER IV.

ROSMINI'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH.

(A.D. 1855.)

ANTONIO ROSMINI was endowed by nature with a constitution so happily attempered, and such perfect and exuberant health, that he was accustomed to say that in his youth he could in a certain measure conceive from his own sensations what must have been the fulness and joyousness of physical life, which Adam experienced on his first creation. But having applied himself to study from his earliest years with extraordinary and perhaps indiscreet assiduity, he fell sick in 1827, at Milan, when he was compiling his *Opuscoli filosofici*; and Dr Raimondini who attended him considered that he was even then labouring under an affection of the liver, and suspected an induration of long standing and probably past remedy. He recovered, however, but again fell sick at Milan in 1831, and the same physician had no longer any doubt of the seriousness of the evil which had now become chronic. He prescribed for him after he had in some degree recovered his health the use of mercurial frictions and of the waters of Recoaro. But Rosmini, absorbed at that time in higher thoughts, could not use the waters regularly and altogether neglected the frictions. From that time he always suffered more or less from affections of the liver. In October 1854 he had a more severe attack at Rovereto, whence he returned to Stresa not

ill indeed, yet not perfectly cured. This did not, however, prevent his resuming his labours, and he worked at the *Ontologia*, which he had then in hand, with an intensity which looked as if he feared not to be able to finish it. In the January of 1855, at the advice and entreaty of his physician, he abated something of his prodigious labours, on account of the increased internal pain and uneasiness which attacked him every evening during the process of digestion.

From the moment when Rosmini's malady began to manifest serious symptoms, his brethren became anxious to place him in the best medical hands. Dr Teodoro De Bonis of Intra, a man of great skill and long practice and experience, was called in, who attended the illustrious patient with the most assiduous and affectionate solicitude to the end of his life. Rosmini, both because he highly appreciated the talents and the affection of De Bonis, and because he did not think it right to make too much account of his life or health, had declared that he would not in any case have any other physician. But Dr De Bonis, who very soon suspected the serious nature of the malady, fearing a fatal issue, wished to be aided in the care of so valuable a life by the presence and approval of some other physician of repute. Several other medical men were therefore brought in to visit the patient under pretext of friendly visits, among the rest Dr Salvatore Pogliaghi, sent by Alessandro Manzoni, from Milan, who kept up a close correspondence with De Bonis on the case.

But no care could arrest the progress of the disease, which gained ground rapidly; some of the symptoms gave rise to a suspicion that Rosmini had been poisoned.

As the illness continually increased, his friends were not slow to conceive a fear of losing him, and a desire to see him again for the last time.

On the 22d May the Marchese Gustavo Benso di Cavour came from Turin with Don Pietro Corte, Professor of Philosophy. At the first sight of them the invalid rejoiced, and greeted them both with his accustomed kindness and courtesy, and turning to Corte said, "O my dear professor, nothing but my being reduced to such a state as this would ever have brought you to see me." A reproof which fell sweetly on the sad heart of the professor. Rosmini then turned the conversation upon Corte's last philosophical productions, expressing himself much delighted with them, and saying that he should have liked to notice them in some journal. "But," added he, "it is well known what friends we are." And wishing to comfort his friend, who was unable to conceal his affliction, "You will come back again," said he, "when I am better, and then we can have a long talk about philosophy. But if it should please God," (and he raised his languid eyes to heaven with a beautiful expression of resignation), "to call me to Himself, you will not, I am sure, forget my companions." The Marchese stayed a few days in the house in order to have more time to converse with his sick friend, who seeing him much affected on parting, as if to soften his grief, told him that he would come to see him at Turin and return his visit.

On the 26th of May, finding that his fever was increasing, he asked for pen and ink, and wrote with his own hand a paper which he folded, and summoning the Procurator General and the Secretary, he bade the latter seal it, and then said, "I entrust this my writing to your fidelity, to be placed in the Archives of the General. It contains the act of nomination of the Vicar General in the event of my death. As soon as I am gone, send it to him to whom it is directed." The words with which he begins this act are worthy of insertion here.

They are as it were the very device and motto of his noble heart : " May the commandment of the Lord " (il Precetto del Signore) " shine upon earth with that same glory which illuminates it in heaven." "*Il Precetto del Signore*" is written in large letters, as if to signify the Precept of Universal Charity. This was his practice in all his private, and sometimes also in his public writings when he had occasion to write the most sacred name of Jesus. This was the last thing he wrote with his own hand; it was on the Vigil of Pentecost.

On that day he would think of nothing but preparing himself for the reception of the Holy Viaticum. There was as yet no urgent need for this solemn act, but he wished to receive it in order to be able afterwards to communicate more frequently, being no longer able to receive fasting, and he chose a festival day for the purpose, to testify his faith and religion before all the people. At about six o'clock, then, on the morning of Whit-Sunday, the Holy Viaticum was brought to him from the parish church, by the Arch-priest, accompanied by the clergy, and a large concourse of people. The sick man received it with the deepest devotion and piety, and all in the room were sensibly affected. He rose almost to a sitting posture upon the bed, recited the *Confiteor* with a clear and steady voice, and as soon as the Arch-priest had pronounced the sacred words, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, he desired his Secretary, Don Francesco Paoli, who was standing at the left side of his bed, to read aloud for him the profession of faith, which is to be found in the Bull *Injunctum* of Pius IV., annexed to the acts of the Council of Trent. Rosmini at first tried to repeat it aloud with him, but as it is very long he was obliged to content himself after a while with following him in a whisper. By this solemn and public act he gave a new and undeniable proof how vivid and how

entire was his faith as a Catholic priest, and how devoted was his attachment to the Holy Catholic Roman Church, in which, as it had always been his glory to live, so it was now his ineffable consolation to die; conscious that to her honour and service he had consecrated his intellect, his learning, his labours, his life, his whole being, and for whose exaltation he had always ardently longed to shed his blood.

Convinced that he was soon to die, and having accepted death with such edifying and full acquiescence, he preserved to the last, and even amidst the acutest agonies, not only a calmness, but a wonderful serenity and contentment of mind. A few facts and words which we have selected from among many as most worthy of record will show this.

When the physicians were conversing around his bed about the nature of his malady, the mode of treatment, their hopes and fears as to the result, he often took part in the discussion, but with the same quiet and Christian tranquillity as if he had been speculating concerning the body or the life of some other person. He always concluded by raising the discourse to higher thoughts, saying, that at all events the Will of Divine Providence would be fulfilled—that first cause on which all the interminable succession of second causes depend, whether the powers of nature, the efficacy of medicine, the strife between the two, the knowledge or the ignorance of physicians. In this thought he reposed with marvellous tranquillity of soul, ready to live or die as should be most pleasing to God.

He said once to one of his sons and companions, who often sat by his bed of pain, "It would be a powerful argument to magnify the Divine Goodness, could we show how many means God has employed to make death less painful, and even sweet to man, comforting

him at that time by those numberless alleviations which proceed from nature, art, and grace, such as friends, physicians, attendants, great variety of food and medicine, words of comfort, grounds of hope, examples of heroic deaths, and the ineffable supports of grace. But such a subject should be treated by a master-hand. There would be no lack of matter certainly, but the form must be studied."

To another who came to see him, and who was lamenting with tears the dreaded loss of such a Father and Master, especially while the Institute was yet young, feeble, agitated by tempests, and the object of attack to a host of enemies, he replied gently, "Doubt not, dear brother, only give yourselves courageously and faithfully to the practice of that perfect life which Jesus Christ has taught us, and you will see that after my death things will go on better than before."

When his confessor told him that all his children and friends were continually praying for him in the words of the sisters of Lazarus, *Domine ecce quem amas infirmatur*, he raised his eyes to heaven and replied, "Oh how good our Lord is! He loves even sinners. But they must pray for eternal life, for this bodily life (and he shook his head and smiled) is past remedy." And then he went on to speak of all creatures bearing within the image, or at least some traces of the Holy Trinity, and of the necessity for sinful man to pass through death, in order that this image may be completed and perfected in him.

To another who acted as his amanuensis, he addressed these words of comfort, "Dear brother, let us do the Will of God in all things. Fear nothing, he who is united to Jesus Christ ought to be content with all things. Keep ever in mind the words of our Lord, *Ego sum resurrectio et vita*." And to the companion of his

studies, who prayed him to remember him in heaven, he replied, "When it shall please the Lord God to unite me to my end, be assured that I will remember you eternally. Meanwhile let us compassionate each other's miseries, and do you in these my last moments pray for me."

From the Abate Gian Battista Branzini, his most deeply attached friend, who was in great sorrow on his account, he concealed his sufferings as much as possible. He sent for him often, asked him to sit beside him, spoke to him with a smile, and in words of holy cheerfulness, thanking and reproving him at once for his anxious affection, and the loving artifices by which he sought to give relief to his suffering body.

To resume the thread of our narrative. On the 1st of June, Don Giuseppe Turri, a Veronese priest, came to Stresa, sent by the principal inhabitants of St. Zeno, in Verona, who were anxious to re-establish the Institute of Charity in that city. Rosmini received him affectionately, and replied: "Dear Don Giuseppe, I thank you for the love you bear me. I was sure that the Parish of St. Zeno still loves my poor Institute. It is a parish well disposed to embrace everything good. God grant that the general desire may be gratified. Return a thousand thanks to them all, for their love to me and mine. If I should not see them again, and be able to thank them myself, I will pray to God for those to whom I feel myself bound by so much esteem and gratitude. But you, Don Giuseppe, do not you leave us so soon." Turri replied that he must go on the morrow. Rosmini said: "Then thank all those good Veronese, ask them to pray for me, commend me especially to the Bishop, and before you go, come once more to my room, that I may see you again, and again express my affection for you."

These words drew tears from the good priest, who was already deeply moved.

On the 3d of the same month the Barone Malfatti, Podestà of Rovereto, came to offer the heartfelt condolences of that city to the sick man, whom Rovereto proudly numbered among her citizens ; and to his own courteous and affectionate words the Podestà added a letter, addressed to Rosmini, and signed by all the members of the municipality, the representative men of the city, and the whole body of the clergy. Rosmini, being at the time in a state of great suffering, could make but a short reply of thanks before the Podestà departed. But after some hours, being a little revived, he caused the letter, with the signatures annexed, to be read to him by the companions who surrounded his bed, and then began to speak with warm gratitude, and great satisfaction of his fellow citizens, who had shown themselves in so many instances unanimous in promoting the public good, and especially the interests of religion, having even placed their city, by a public and solemn act, under the patronage of most Holy Mary.

On the 11th he sent for Don Pietro Bertetti, the Provincial of the Institute in Italy, and having spoken to him of some matters which concerned his successor, he gave to him, as his Vicar General, the Manuscript of the Constitutions which he declared to be the most complete of all the MS. Editions, and the one which he wished to be considered authentic. It seemed as if by this act he wished to resign the commission which he had received from God and the Church, to watch over the foundation and government of that Society which he had begun about twenty-five years before, which had ever afterwards been the chief object of his affections, and which he had directed with consummate wisdom and fervent love. I say this because the manuscript

of the Constitutions was, of all his writings, that over which he had meditated, studied, and laboured more than over any other ; he always kept it near him, and continually returned to it as to his first-born and dearest child.

On the 13th, Ruggiero Bonghi, who loved Rosmini with the affection of a friend and a disciple, seeing that his last hour was drawing near, came to visit him. The invalid received him with his accustomed kindness, and said: "Behold me, dear friend, between two worlds, the world of vanity and the world of truth. I must soon appear before the tribunal of God. My whole confidence is in Christ, in Whom each of us can say: 'I am a partaker with all that fear Thee': and also in the merits of that great Body of which He is the Head, and all we the baptized are members. All our hope is in Jesus Christ, and in our union with Him, be this also our glory." Then, pressing his hand, he added: "Dear Bonghi, farewell." His friend was affected to tears. On the following morning D. Paolo Orsi, his dear friend, and formerly his master of rhetoric, who had come from Rovereto to see him, a few days before, seeing that his illness was dangerously increasing, said to him: "Dearest Don Antonio, you will let us know when you wish." To these broken words, well understood by the sick man, he replied: "I have been long thinking of it, but I doubt not my companions will think of it also; I leave myself entirely in their hands." And a little while afterwards, when the secretary brought him the letters (which, till within two days of his death he always wished to see), he said to him with a smile: "Will you, then, give me Extreme Unction to-day?" The secretary replied, that it should be as he pleased, and after some words of mutual edification, he directed him to make preparations for the adminis-

tration of that sacrament. At three o'clock in the afternoon, all the members of the Religious community were assembled in the sick room, together with some members of the college for elementary teachers, and others from the novitiate, perhaps about twenty in all, and kneeling around the bed, his confessor prepared to begin the sacred function. But, Rosmini's watchful tenderness remarked that his friend Branzini was absent, and he made a sign to the confessor to wait awhile. Branzini soon arrived with several other persons. In the meantime, the eldest of the Religious present, and one of the most intimate with the Father, knelt down and began to ask pardon for himself and his companions for their faults against him and against the rules of the Institute. But Rosmini interrupted him almost immediately, and with a firm and calm voice spoke thus in the presence of all, both brethren and strangers: "Nay, it is I who ought to ask pardon of you and of all." "No, no, dear Father," broke in the good priest in his turn, not without tears, "say not so, it is for me to ask pardon." But the Father continued in the same calm voice, "I ask pardon then of you and of all for my faults, and especially for not having used all that gentleness in correcting some of you, which you deserved. I hope, however, that I did not sin in this, for sin consists in the malice and bitterness of the heart, and this I know I have never felt against any one. On the contrary, I must tell you, dearest brethren, that I have always loved you, yes, deeply loved you, and earnestly desired all good for all of you. But as man, so long as he lives in this world, is always frail and often fails in some way, even when he is doing good, we have always cause for fear and humility, because, as Holy Scripture clearly says: *Omnis homo mendax*. I ask pardon then of you and of the whole

Institute which Divine Providence has been pleased to commit to my poor care, for thus it often pleases God to use the vilest and most worthless instruments for His highest ends. Assuredly the Institute has always been the treasure of my heart, and to it I ought perhaps to have given time which I have employed in other things. But our consolation is that in the midst of our many failings we have the mercy of God ever ready to pardon us, for as St. John says: "If any man sin we have an Advocate with the Father Jesus Christ the Just" (1 John ii. 1). As for the rest, I recommend to you fraternal union and peace, which comprises all blessings, and above all, I recommend to you obedience to your superiors."

Having said this he was silent, and then the Provincial begged him to give his blessing, not only to those present, but to the whole Province and all the Institute, which he did, raising his hand and giving the blessing, in the usual form. His confessor assisted by other priests began to recite the prayers belonging to the sacred rite; but whether from a difficulty in hearing, or because he wished to follow and meditate upon the holy words, he begged the officiating priest to read more slowly. He then seemed altogether recollected in God and absorbed in the thought of the mysterious Unction.

When the sacred function had been concluded, amidst the tears and audible sobs of all present, they arose, and the secretary approaching nearer to the bed, said to him that he thanked him in the name of all his companions for the words which he had just addressed to them, for all the instructions which he had given them in times past, and for all the labours endured by him throughout so many years in order to lead them in the ways of the Lord, and that they promised him all together always

to live conformably to his counsels, and so to bear themselves as to give him consolation, that the world might know by what Father they had been trained, and that the Father might be the glory of the sons.

To this promise, which those present confirmed by various signs, Rosmini answered, "Yes truly this will be a great consolation to me. If you strive in earnest after perfection, you will be a triumph for God, you will be also a triumph for me." Having said this he closed his eyes and remained in placid repose for the rest of the day, nor would he have any one to visit him until the hour came for the usual prayers, which were said twice every day, at noon and towards evening, around his bed by the assembled family.

These devotions consisted in the recitation of certain prayers, and the application of various sacred relics suggested by the faith and affection of friends far and near, as we shall presently explain more circumstantially. Rosmini accepted these things willingly, both in accordance with his own faith and piety, and to satisfy the pious wishes of benevolent and religious persons, as well as to second in all things with simplicity the dispositions of Divine Providence, which he adored and loved even in the desires of good men. Therefore, although his own favourite and essential devotion was to repeat continually in the simplicity and feelings of his heart these words, *May the will of God be done in all things*, yet he was content that all natural and supernatural means within his reach, should be used for the recovery of his health, should such be the will of God. Among those of the latter kind was a relic of the *Volto Santo* of our Lord venerated at Lucca, sent by an illustrious professor of philosophy to be applied to the body of his friend and master. A friend having sent from Milan some water from the sanctuary of our Lady of La

Salette, Rosmini would be devoutly sprinkled with it every day. He also had frequently applied to him some of the liquid which flowed from the bones of the holy martyrs of *Concordia* brought from the Cathedral Church of Oderzo near Venice. With still greater earnestness was his restoration sought by means of a relic of the Venerable Antonio Maria Zaccaria, founder of the Congregation of Clerks Regular of St. Paul, commonly called Barnabites, the cause of whose Beatification is now pending at Rome.

To the use of relics was joined that of prayers, which in every corner of Italy, and even in foreign lands arose from innumerable hearts to implore Almighty God to spare at least a little longer a life by them accounted so useful if not necessary. That this should have been done by all the members of the Institute of Charity and the Sisters of Providence on the first appearance of the peril which threatened them of losing and that so speedily, their own Father and founder, was in no way very surprising, but rather a matter of course. But what was extraordinary, and would have excited much astonishment, had not the merits of Rosmini been already fully acknowledged, was the grief and apprehension produced in so many other minds by the peril of that great man, and the fervent prayers and supplications poured forth by them to God, the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints in heaven to deliver science, the world, and the Church from the impending misfortune of his premature death. We will give some particular instances of this general feeling.

At Bobbio, for example, after the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, *Salus Infirmorum*, St. Charles and St. Columban were invoked in his behalf. In a parish of Switzerland he was commended with suitable devotions to St. Gothard, called by

Baronius the "Saint of miracles." At Padua many prayers were offered at the holy shrine of the Thaumaturgus St. Antony, the special patron of Rosmini. The parish priest of Oneglia, on the western shore of the gulf of Genoa, as soon as he knew from the public papers that Rosmini was seriously ill, ordered public prayers to be offered and made two novenas for his recovery, one to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and the other at the altar of our Lady. The Salesian nuns of Arona, the Ursulines of Miasino and Cannobio, and other Religious in the diocese of Novara, the Sacramentines of Monza, the Daughters of Charity at Brescia, the Daughters of Mary at Bobbio, the Carmelites at Carpentras, and a number of other communities of both sexes, especially at Rome, never ceased during Rosmini's long illness to make novenas, triduums, penances, &c., in order, if it might be, to obtain from God to spare so precious a life. A priest of Trent, and director of a college in that city thus wrote to Rosmini :

The Daughters of Charity, the Daughters of the Sacred Heart, and the Daughters of St. Vincent are praying daily for you. Public prayers have been offered up for you throughout the month of May, at Santa Maria Maggiore, in Trent, and in the parish of Pergine. The boys of the evening and oratory schools pray continually for you. Our whole city indeed is deeply concerned for you.

Mgr. Bartolozzi, the Bishop of Montalcino, not content with praying earnestly himself for the recovery of his old friend, sent circulars enjoining public prayers to all the priests in his diocese. In Rovereto, his native city, besides other devotions, a solemn votive mass was celebrated at the Arch-presbyterial church of St. Mark, the Municipality and the professors of the Gymnasium being present. It would be impossible to find room

here for all similar cases. Suffice it to say that letters poured in at Stresa assuring us of this general concurrence of prayers and religious sympathy, not only on the part of whole communities and colleges, of ecclesiastics, canons, parish priests, bishops, but also of advocates, physicians, men of science, and professors of various universities. Persons were not wanting who even offered their own lives in exchange for that of Rosmini, if only it were in accordance with the Divine Will.

A Capuchin Father of Tiene thus wrote to another priest :

I can assure you that I do not pass a quarter of an hour without thinking of Rosmini, and lifting up my heart to God for him. O if our Lord would accept instead of his the sacrifice of my miserable useless life, how gladly would I make it ! Believe me, dear friend, I would offer it most willingly if that most precious life might be preserved for the benefit of religion and society.

But, though all these prayers poured forth before the throne of that God "Whose mercies are without number, and the treasure of His goodness is without end," and Who says, "Ask and you shall receive," by so many innocent hearts and elect souls, were powerless to save a life so dear and precious—we are not, therefore, to think they were unheard. On the contrary, we believe that they obtained in the highest possible way their fullest effect, according to the desire of the wise and holy man for whom they were offered, viz., that which was best for him in order to eternal life. "Let us think of saving the soul," said he, from his sick bed to a friend, "all the rest is nothing." We believe, then, assuredly, that all these supplications addressed to heaven to rescue Rosmini from a premature death, contributed immensely to mature his holy soul for heaven, establishing him immovably in God, complet-

ing his crown of merit, and obtaining for him that invincible patience, that edifying piety, and above all, that indescribable and admirable resignation, and most perfect conformity to the Divine Will, which was, as it were, the essence of his religion, and rendered him thus heroically indifferent to life or death.

On June 15th, the Rector of the College of Elementary Teachers presented some of the masters to him, telling him that they deeply grieved at his serious illness, they had thought to give him some comfort by the assurance that they would be more diligent in observing the rules which he had given them, and meanwhile they prayed him to give his blessing to them, and in them to their companions. To which Rosmini replied, "You see, beloved brethren, how all things pass away and vanish! Well did St. Paul say, 'The figure of this world passeth away.' This is the harvest time. The countryman who toils in the sweat of his brow is rewarded at last by the harvest he reaps. So it is with him who serves God and labours for Him. I trust in our Lord, in Immaculate Mary, and in St. Joseph Calasanctius, the patron of your college, that you will all labour like good Religious in your work of charity. I assure you that nothing could be more grateful or consoling to me than the promise you have made, to fulfil more carefully than ever the duties of your vocation. Observe, then, the rules most carefully, enter deeply into their meaning, and study to become daily more faithful and more perfect. Live not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. I will never forget you, and in pledge of my remembrance receive now my blessing."

On the evening of the same day Count Stefano Stampa came again to Stresa with tidings that Manzoni would come on the following day, accompanied by Dr Pogliaghi. Rosmini was pleased to see him again,

and thanked him repeatedly for all the proofs of friendship bestowed on him by himself, his mother, Donna Teresa, now the wife of Alessandro Manzoni, and by Manzoni himself. He then summoned Brother Antonio Carli, his infirmarian, and the secretary, begging them to make preparations to receive his expected friend, so that nothing might be wanting to him. This was a carefulness quite habitual with him, for he always treated the friends who came to visit him, whether in sickness or health, with all that consideration which marks an edifying and cordial hospitality. On the 16th, about noon, the Professor Alessandro Pestalozza arrived, and about four in the afternoon, Alessandro Manzoni.

The secretary, Don Francesco Paoli, first brought in the two physicians, De Bonis and Pogliaghi, and after they had finished their questions and observations, he approached the bed, and said: "Father, Dr Pogliaghi has brought you a better medicine from Milan." The Father answered, with an expressive look, "What, is Manzoni come then? Why have you made him wait? Bring him here at once." He went and returned with Manzoni and Pestalozza. It was an affecting sight. The two physicians drew back, and the two illustrious friends approached the bed, Manzoni on the right, Pestalozza on the left. The eyes of the sick man turned, full of life and affection, first to Manzoni, who had entered first; and, taking each other's hand, they gazed fixedly on each other. At last Manzoni broke silence, and the two friends spoke nearly as follows:—"Oh! my dearest Rosmini, how are you?" "I am in the hands of God, and therefore well. But you, dear Manzoni, that you should come to Stresa in this weather, and hardly recovered from your illness? I am afraid that you will suffer for it." "What would I not do to see my Rosmini?" "Yes, you would perform an act of true

friendship, and Manzoni will always be my Manzoni wherever I may be, in time and in eternity." "We will hope that our Lord will still preserve you to us, and give you time to bring to a conclusion the many great works you have begun; your presence among us is too necessary." "No, no: no one is necessary to God; the works which God has begun, He will complete with those means which are in His hands, and they are manifold, they are an abyss into which we can look only to adore. As for me, I am wholly useless, or rather, I fear to be mischievous, and this fear makes me not only resigned to death, but even to desire it." "Oh, for the love of heaven, do not say that! What shall we do then?" "Adore, be silent, and rejoice." (*Adorare, tacere e godere.*)

Having said this, Rosmini, with extraordinary emotion, pressed Manzoni's hand more strongly, and drawing it closer to him, kissed it. Manzoni, surprised, and much disturbed by this act, immediately bent to kiss his friend's hand, which he still held; but perceiving, as he said afterwards, that he would thus be only putting himself on a level with him, he ran in still greater trouble and confusion to kiss his feet, the only way left him (to use his own words) of taking his proper place. Rosmini in vain protested against this by voice and gesture, saying: "Ah, this time you conquer, because I have no more strength." And they again clasped each other's hands.

Meanwhile Pestalozza, who at the first sight and the first words of the sick man had been moved to tears, and had retired into the neighbouring oratory to give vent to his grief, re-entered the room. The secretary presented him to Rosmini, saying: "See, Father, here is another Alessandro." Rosmini turning his eyes upon him, and stretching out his other hand, said: "Ah, are you

here too? *Oh par amicorum!*" And thus pressing the hands of both his friends, he tried to draw them as near as possible to him. He begged them to remain in the house for some days, that they might be able to converse more at leisure. Pestalozza replied that he was grieved not to be able to remain beyond that day, but that he hoped to be able to return. "Well," replied Rosmini, "promise me at least to come back soon." "And do you," answered the Professor, "promise to let me find you better." To which Rosmini replied with his usual quickness, "Do you promise not to return too late." These words were accompanied by an expression of countenance which seemed to say, I am certain not to live many days, and I die content, since such is our Lord's Will. In a second visit which the two friends paid to him, he tried to converse with them upon some high questions of religious metaphysics; but fearing that this might do him harm they tried to change the subject, and at last begged him not to over-fatigue himself, lest it should aggravate his malady. To the loving remonstrances of his friends he replied: "Oh, that can never hurt the health which is the *elixir vitæ*, as are my two Alessandri." At the third visit which the Professor Pestalozza paid him before his departure, he earnestly craved his blessing. The humble Father, after a little agitation, which manifested itself in a slight blush, said, "And why not; I am a priest, and it is a priest's office to bless." He then blessed him with peculiar earnestness and affection, and kissed him, saying, "Let us pray to our Lord that His Holy Will may be done. Farewell." Manzoni still remained.

On the 17th the Marchese Gustavo di Cavour returned to Stresa with Signor Rinaldi, whom Rosmini welcomed affectionately. He then conversed for some time with the Marchese. They comforted each other with words of Christian friendship and wisdom, and

Rosmini dwelt especially on the thought so familiar to him, of our common participation, by faith and grace, of the life which is in Jesus Christ, observing that the dissolution of the body does not divide friends from one another, a nobler and more perfect method of communication remaining to them, and that still preserving their affection they would find the consummation of their union in a better life. But with Cavour all other thoughts were soon absorbed in the sad conviction that this was the last time he should behold his friend on earth, and this conviction so overpowered him that he could no longer restrain his tears, and so they parted. But no sooner had he reached the bottom of the stairs than, under a fresh impulse of love and tenderness, the Marchese hastily reascended them alone, and entering Rosmini's room again, and asking his blessing rather by tears than words, kissed and embraced him again, and once more departed.

On the 19th the Professor Paravia came to see him from Turin. He was, as Rosmini said, his oldest friend, and had been his fellow-student at the University of Padua. The Father was much pleased to see him again, and talked for a long time with him of study and art, of Padua, Arquà, and Turin, encouraging him always to continue as he was now doing, to instil noble and religious sentiments into the studious youth of the University of Turin.

On the following day many priests came from both sides of the Lago Maggiore to enquire for Rosmini, expressing deep sorrow at the nearly impending loss of a man who by his extraordinary talents and extraordinary virtues was so great a glory to the priesthood. Rosmini, though overwhelmed with suffering, would see them all, and addressed to each some affectionate and edifying words. On the same day he had the conso-

lation of hearing part of a letter read from Rome, which mentioned the grief of the Holy Father on hearing of his severe illness, and the effusion of most sincere affection with which he sent him the Apostolic Benediction.

On the 24th Tommasèo came to Stresa. He arrived just at the hour when the prayers were accustomed to be said around the bed of the sick man, who, when he was informed of his friend's arrival, said: "Let him come—let all come." The Secretary led Tommasèo, who was almost blind, to the bed, when Rosmini stretching out his arm with a strong effort, threw it around his friend's neck, and pressed his head affectionately to his heart. Tommasèo burst into tears and kissed Rosmini over and over again, and then kneeling around the bed we prayed as usual. After which Rosmini expressed his gratitude, and the consolation he felt in thus praying together with us, believing that by virtue of the Communion of Saints united prayers have increased efficacy. We all then went with Manzoni and Tommasèo into the adjacent oratory and recited the Rosary, the Litanies of the Saints, and other prayers for the sick.

The next morning Rosmini sent for Manzoni, and spoke to him for some time in private. He next asked to see Tommasèo, who threw himself immediately upon his neck, shedding tears and pressing his hand. He then knelt for his blessing. "God will bless you," said Rosmini, gently. "Try to be always faithful to Him, and to keep the great affair of your soul always before you. If you save your soul you will save all. And pray for me also." But as Tommasèo persisted in his request, Rosmini blessed him, and Tommasèo, kissing his hand, departed in deep emotion, feeling sure that he should never see him again on earth.

On the same day Rosmini bade his companions consider what would be the fittest time and mode for

making the recommendation of the soul, and giving the Apostolical Benediction in *articulo mortis*. And it was observed that on this as on all other occasions, he spoke of his death with a marvellous strength of mind and peace of heart, as if he felt intensely those divine words: *Sive enim vivimus, sive morimur, Domini sumus*. "Whether we live or die we are the Lord's." To those who told him what continual, fervent, and innumerable prayers were daily offered up for his recovery, and that some had even offered their lives in exchange for his, he replied that he was deeply grateful for their affection which offered it, but not for the gift. And to some who wished to induce him to join his prayers to those of others to obtain the preservation of his life, he said: "Heaven forbid I should do so! I wish for nothing but what pleases God."

On the 28th Father Piantoni, a Barnabite, and Rector of the College of Longone, came to visit him. Rosmini received him with much affection, and asked him to bless him with the relic of his venerable founder, Zaccharia, which was done; and then the good Father told him that he and all his companions had besought Almighty God fervently and continually to preserve his life, but that even if His Divine Majesty had determined now to call him to Himself, he might well say with St. Paul: "I have fought a good fight, as to the rest there is laid up for me a crown of justice" (2 Tim. iv. 7). And then he asked him for some spiritual remembrance. To which Rosmini replied: "I am very thankful to you, and to all your Congregation, for the prayers they have offered for me: continue to pray, dear Father, that the Will of God may be done in me, whatever that Will may be. These words of St. Paul are engraved on my heart, but all my hope is in the merits of Jesus Christ. As for the remembrance you ask of me, I will give it for us both:

May God be ever present to us. All beside signifies nothing."

The next day Mgr. Giacomo Gentile, Bishop of Novara, was so kind as to visit him, although himself in a very weak state of health. Rosmini thanked him gratefully, only gently complaining that he would not stay to dine and take some rest. He then begged the Bishop to pray for him that he might have grace to take the last great step in safety, and begged his blessing. The Bishop on his part assured him that he had deeply shared the common grief at his sickness and danger, and that he would have come sooner to see him had not his own illness prevented it, but that he had not failed to recommend him to the prayers of all the convents in his diocese. Rosmini thanked him as well as his extreme state of weakness would allow. On the same day sacred to the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, to whom he had an especial devotion, he received for the last time the most Holy Viaticum.

On the last day of June Rosmini had such frequent fainting fits, that the doctors judged his last hour to be approaching. Divine Providence was pleased mercifully to console not only the sufferer himself, but his companions and friends, by the arrival of Mgr. Luigi Moreno, the Bishop of Ivrea, a Prelate of great zeal who had long honoured Rosmini by his esteem and friendship. The Father was at the time of his arrival almost overpowered by a death-like lethargy, so that it was feared that he would not recognize the Bishop. But having been repeatedly spoken to by his secretary he roused himself a little and gave a sign that he had heard. The Bishop then entered the room followed by Manzoni and several other persons, and with a heart deeply moved at the sight of his dying friend, but with a calm and dignified bearing, he bent affectionately

over the sick man's face and said, "I am come to thank your Paternity for all that you have done for me, for my clergy, and for the Church. I have been your spiritual son as well as many of my Priests when you came into my diocese to give us the Spiritual Exercises. You have laboured long and courageously for the good of religion and in defence of the rights of the Church. I come then to thank you for all your holy labours in our behalf." Rosmini had stretched out his hand to the Bishop, and, as he now spake with difficulty, he signified as best he could by signs and looks his gratitude as well as confusion at the words of the good Prelate, who added :—" And now, Father, I pray you to remember us when you are in Paradise, and to pray for me and for my Church, and for the whole Church of Piedmont." The humility of the dying Father restored his speech, and in a faint voice he answered, "I am confounded! I am confounded!" The Bishop renewed his entreaties with an earnestness which manifested the deep conviction of his soul, and at last Rosmini made a sign of assent and added : "I will, I will." The Bishop, now satisfied, said that meanwhile he would not cease to pray and get others to pray that God would vouchsafe to aid him in those awful moments; to which Rosmini answered repeatedly, "Thanks! thanks!" And these were the last words uttered by him with full consciousness, except some words of counsel to Manzoni and an ejaculatory prayer suggested to him by the Provincial.

The Bishop had hardly left the room, after giving his blessing to the sufferer and to those present, when the agony became more visible and painful. The eyes became dim and wandering, the smile which till now had played more or less on lip and brow disappeared, sensation became dull, and the convulsions grew more

and more violent, wringing forth at last inarticulate moans which were heard at some distance, and which sounded to one who attentively listened like—"God help me! Eternal God help me!" Oh mournful sight! Who could say where now, and how employed, was that vast and sublime mind, on which the image of God was so deeply traced? This at least was manifest, that it no longer swayed and ruled his lower nature, and that the exercise of reflection and the use of the external senses being suspended, or at least much diminished, the body was pervaded only by the blind instinct of pain. Then might be clearly understood how many and bitter must have been the sufferings endured by him during his long sickness with such marvellous patience, without one single complaint, and with the constant reply to any who compassionated him, that all his suffering was as nothing in comparison with what the Saviour of the world had borne for us. The prayers prescribed by the Church for her dying children were recited by those present, and the Papal Benediction given. It seemed that while the prayers were said the pains of the dying man were mitigated. At the same hour the tolling of the church bell gave notice of his agony to the people of the Parish who came in great numbers to the church, where the Arch-priest opening the tabernacle offered prayers for the agonizing.

Night at last came on, and prayers having been once more recited in common around the bed of death, the secretary begged all, both brethren and guests, to retire to rest, promising to call them should the Father recover the use of thought and speech. And this was the first and only time after so many months of attendance that the affectionate Infirmarian Antonio Carli was compelled to leave his dearest Father; he could not bear to see him die. The secretary then remained alone

with one other companion, Paolo Zamboni, of the college of elementary teachers. In a letter to his absent brethren F. Paoli thus describes that night of painful watching :

We remained one on each side supporting the arms of the dying Father, who from time to time stretched out his hands in the form of a cross, heaving from the bottom of his breast for more than an hour, groans so loud as to be heard at a considerable distance, and which made a mournful contrast to the notes of a nightingale in the adjoining garden ; this bird since his death, now some days past, has been no more heard to sing its wonted song. I will describe what passed in my mind in those awful moments. I seemed to be looking upon the death agony of the Crucified, of whom it is written, that "having cried with a loud voice He gave up the ghost." And this thought of the Passion of our Lord thus represented in His servant was again brought home to me, as we moistened his parched lips with a sponge steeped in an acid mixture, and I remembered also that before our Father was attacked by his painful convulsions, and subsequent agony on the 29th, the doctor had prescribed for him medicated wine mingled with an extract of gall, which when he had tasted he refused to drink. At last about midnight when the darkness became more dense, whilst we were at prayer, the dying Father became calm, and I called the doctor. He came with Don Vincenzo De Vit and Count Stefano Stampa, and we saw our Father modestly compose his limbs and tranquilly expire. Antonio Rosmini died at two o'clock on the morning of the 1st July 1855, a day consecrated in the diocese of Novara to the devotion to the most Precious Blood of Jesus Christ, a devotion to which he had always been peculiarly attached, and which he had always earnestly recommended to his spiritual children. I watched by the side of the holy dead, saying the office for the departed, and at the first dawn of day caused the death bell to be tolled ; it was answered by the bells of all the churches round tolling for half an hour, according to the custom of the country on the death of a priest. The body was left all that day on the bed, in the same composed and devout posture in which death had left it, and was visited continually by persons of all degrees. Manzoni, among others, was seen repeatedly to enter the room of his deceased friend, and to pray there with great devotion and affection. It was observed, also, that when he entered it on the following day

and found no longer the body of his friend, which had been removed in preparation for the funeral, he seemed to be seeking some memorial of him among the few poor objects in the room. From among these he chose a *Paradiso* of Dante, and gazed upon it, and turned over its leaves with a tenderness, the source of which he alone could explain, then, approaching the bed, he leaned over it with an expression which seemed to realize Rosmini's words, addressed to him but a few days before : *Tacere, Adorare, Godere.*

We will conclude this brief narrative by two observations.

First, that, throughout his illness, Rosmini, as far as his strength permitted, would always employ it in the government of his Institute, but without making any provision for it against the time to come, without even mentioning his property, his manuscripts, or anything else left by him to his heirs.

Secondly, that he died as simply as he had lived ; the determined foe of all ostentation, the ardent lover of truth. He adored and loved, in all the trials of his long sickness, the most wise and holy Will of God, from Whom he received with a pious and grateful heart, all the spiritual and corporal succours which were prescribed or recommended to him. He was never seen to be anxious about anything whatever, never troubled in mind, never disquieted by doubts of any sort. He was a man, extraordinary indeed, in his very simplicity. He used to say that St. Francis of Sales had greatly promoted the progress of asceticism, by presenting in his life and writings a new and more generally accessible form of the spiritual life. And it seems to us, in like manner, that the tenor of the life and death of Antonio Rosmini was such, that we all may say to ourselves, " So also may I, and ought I to live and die." God grant us grace to follow him !

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH MISSION OF THE FATHERS OF CHARITY.

(A.D. 1830-1886.)¹

FATHER ROSMINI had not long received the conception of his Religious Institute, when, coming to Rome to ask guidance from the Holy Father and his blessing on his work, he was led by providential circumstances, which he always took as his rule of action, to turn his charity towards England, of which he writes, "for the restoration of this once an *Island of Saints* to the bosom of the Church, I would willingly shed my blood."

He was led to this in great part through making the acquaintance in Rome of Luigi Gentili, a young Roman Avvocato and Doctor in Laws and Literature. Gentili was an elegant scholar as well in Classical as in Italian literature. He had also considerable musical talent. This led to his making the acquaintance of some of the English visitors in Rome, and to his being much sought in English society. He thus learned to speak a little of the language, while he discoursed with the English on his own favourite studies. This, too, led to his forming a youthful dream of love for a young lady of high birth, whom he met in society. It was a mere dream, and nearly as baseless a fabric, for under all circumstances it could come to nothing but disappointment. This disappointment was another step of Divine providence, which led him to see the vanity of

¹ It has been thought well to throw the chapters which follow into a kind of Supplement to the *Life*, in order not to break or confuse the thread of the narrative.

all dreams of earthly happiness. The result was that he was missed at first, and soon forgotten in English society. Years afterwards, when the English newspapers sometimes mentioned his name as "a remarkable preacher among the Roman Catholics," I remember a relative of mine, a Protestant, much used to Roman society, saying, "Can this be that Luigi Gentili with whom we used to sing duets in Rome?"

Gentili's disappointment had brought on a severe illness. On his recovery, his first thought was to leave the world and enter Religion among the Jesuits in Rome, having a special devotion to his Patron San Luigi Gonzaga. He would have been accepted by them, as he was well known and loved by many of the Fathers, under whom he had been educated, but his health seemed broken, and they were afraid that he would not succeed with them; so his application was refused.

He turned his thoughts, however, to the Priesthood, and the idea came forcibly borne in upon his mind that God called him to be a Missionary Priest in England. For this he offered his life, and it was accepted.

At this time Providence led him to make the acquaintance of Rosmini. He soon conceived such a veneration for him that he earnestly begged him to be his director. In the end Luigi Gentili, at his earnest entreaty, was accepted by Rosmini as a Postulant of the Institute. He remained in Rome attending the Theological Lectures, residing at the Irish College to study English and prepare for the Priesthood. After his Ordination he went to Domodossola to make his Noviciate under Rosmini.

The reconversion of England held always a prominent place in his heart. He had made the acquaintance in Rome, in September 1830, of Mr Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, the eldest son of the owner of Garendon, and of Grace Dieu Manor in Leicestershire, a zealous convert to the faith, of ancient family and large property; who, being

in Rome, had applied to the Rector of the Irish College for a priest to labour in his neighbourhood. While offering the adorable sacrifice, the Rector felt himself inwardly moved to suggest the Abate Gentili as in every way fitted for the purpose. This led to a great friendship arising between Mr de Lisle and Father Gentili, and was ultimately the cause of his going to reside with Mr de Lisle at Grace Dieu as his Chaplain, afterwards to the commencement of the preaching of Missions in the neighbourhood, and from thence throughout all England. About the time when he made the acquaintance of Mr de Lisle, Bishop Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the western district of England, having his Episcopal residence at Bath, invited Gentili to return with him, in order to take a post of importance in his College at Prior Park. Father Gentili, having already placed himself under obedience to Rosmini, wrote at once to ask his views on the matter. In the course of his letter he says :

There was a time when I desired earnestly to go to England, and shed my blood there ; and though this desire has not left me, I have no longer the presumption to think that I have been chosen to remedy any evils of that unhappy nation. May God send thither men of holiness and learning.

Father Rosmini gave his full and glad consent to the invitation to send missionaries to England, but deferred its fulfilment until Gentili should have passed some time at Monte Calvario. This period was, owing to various causes, longer than had been expected ; for though Gentili reached Domodossola in August 1831, it was not till 1835 that the first colony of the Institute was sent to England. However, at Domodossola Gentili reaped the first fruit of his labours for England, in reconciling to the Church the grand-daughter of Sir Henry Trelawney, a Cornish Baronet, himself also a convert,

and afterwards a Priest. Sir Henry joined Mr De Lisle in urging on Father Rosmini to give Gentili to England. Bishop Baines also asked that other Fathers besides might be sent as Professors in his new College and Seminary for the Clergy of the Vicariate.

Father Rosmini, following the line he lays down in his Constitutions, gave preference to the Bishop's applications, and on the 5th of May 1835 he sent Father Gentili to Rome with two companions, Belisy and Rey, to ask the Holy Father's blessing on their Mission. His Holiness Gregory XVI. made specific enquiries about the proposed Mission to England, expressing his particular satisfaction that "Rosmini had been able to send three of his companions to teach Theology and Philosophy," to which he had particularly desired Rosmini to apply himself, as a writer in the depth and soundness of whose doctrines he had the greatest confidence.

Gentili and his companions, before taking leave of the Eternal City, visited the Seven Churches and other places of special devotion. Gentili, who had been familiar with all that was sacred in Rome from his earliest youth, was their guide. Before the Image of our Blessed Lady at Santa Maria Maggiore, he renewed his vows of perpetual dedication to the Madonna, who had guided his steps from childhood, and renewed also his vows of Religion, and of devoting his life for the salvation of souls in the Islands of the West to which he was bound.

They embarked at Cività Vecchia on the morning of the 22d of May 1835, to return to Monte Calvario on their way to England; but the Pope and his suite being expected to arrive in the town that day, the departure of their vessel was delayed till evening. His Holiness came on board, accompanied by several Cardinals and other members of his Court, and amidst the acclama-

tions of the spectators and salvos of artillery from the Forts.

Monsignor Patrizi, afterward Cardinal, who was one of the attendants, observing the three missionaries in a corner by themselves, pointed them out to the Pope, who graciously asked, "Well, when do you start?" They answered, "Holy Father, we are here in readiness." "That," he replied, "is all well." Then turning to the Cardinals, he said, "These Ecclesiastics are going to England to teach in the Seminary of Monsignor Baines." He then turned to them once more and said, encouragingly: "May the Lord bless your Apostolic labours; and when you see the Abate Rosmini and the Bishop, salute them both in my name." They then kissed his feet, and, having received his final blessing, withdrew, full of consolation at the special benediction for their English Mission which had so unexpectedly and providentially been granted them. That evening they sailed for Genoa.

One of the last counsels of Rosmini to his brethren before they departed for England was—

I recommend you all three to conform yourselves to the English ways in all things where there is no wrong, putting in practice the words of St. Paul, "I am made all things to all men." Do not raise objection to anything in which there is no sin. Each nation has its customs which are good in its own eyes. You should conform yourselves to the customs of those people among whom you are, which should be good in the eyes of your charity. To be too much attached to Italian, Roman, or French customs is no small defect in the Servant of God, whose True Country is Heaven.

In answer to some objections that had been made that the Institute of Charity was too wide and indeterminate in its scope, he said:—

It would be a mistake to suppose that this Institute proposes to embrace all works of Charity (though ready to accept any at the call of God). It proposes to itself one only determinate end, and

that is the sanctification of its members. In this point it differs, for example, from the Institute of the Jesuits, which sets two principal ends before its members—their own sanctification and that of their neighbour. The end of our Society is more simple, having but one principal and ultimate end—our own sanctification. Hence it is essentially a contemplative Institute, aiming at a quiet and private kind of life, such as befits a simple priest or layman who aspires to evangelical perfection. It is a mistake, but too widely spread in these days, to suppose that the priesthood involves in its essence the cure of souls. The Bishop alone is a Pastor by his office ; the priests' only mission is to pray and offer sacrifice for themselves and for the people, unless they are called and sent by the Bishop to the Pastoral work. An humble, hidden, and obedient life—a life of prayer and study ; this is the aim of our Institute, which consists of private persons, whether priests or laymen, bound together for their mutual sanctification in the duties proper to their state.

In following this little band of missionaries to England, we naturally ask what was the state of religion in the country at that period. They came at a very critical time in the religious history of England. Great religious changes have taken place through means of many providential agencies during the fifty years that have passed since their landing. They came just six years after the passing of the "Roman Catholic Emancipation Act." This, in granting political freedom and equality with their fellow subjects to the Catholics, and especially to Catholic Ireland, had practically swept away all that remained on the Statute Book of the Penal Laws against the Catholic religion. The religious persecution had gradually died out, it had long ceased to be exile or death for a Priest to minister in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The fines and imprisonment for not attending the services of the Established Church had impoverished the Catholic nobility and gentry, and made the practice of their religion by the poor nearly impossible ; but these fines after two hundred years had

long ceased to be exacted. These changes had resulted from the gradual working of public opinion, and partly from Catholics having become socially insignificant. Before the passing of the Emancipation Act, Catholics were excluded by law from all political power; no Catholic Peer could take his seat in the House of Lords, no Catholic could be a Member of the House of Commons. For nearly three hundred years the Catholics even of the upper classes had been almost entirely secluded from general society. They lived in their country seats almost unknown except to their own tenants, and to a few of their more immediate neighbours. The penal laws had been in various ways, of studied purpose, socially degrading. For instance, if a Catholic had a horse of more than £5 in value, any Protestant could tender that sum and take the horse.

The only Catholic places of worship in the country were the domestic chapels attached to Catholic gentlemen's houses, except in some wild parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Scotland, and a few other out-of-the-way places, where, as in Ireland, the faith of the people in the Old Religion had never died out. The externals of religion, however, had been reduced to the minimum. In towns the Catholic Chapel was always an unpretending building in one of the back streets. In London and other large cities and principal towns some larger Catholic Chapels—for they were never then called Churches—had been built, externally of the style and appearance of Dissenting Meeting Houses, though within exhibiting somewhat of the seemly adornment belonging to Catholic worship.

This necessity for larger churches in towns, was owing to the gradual increase of the Catholic working classes by emigration from Ireland, except in one or two of the manufacturing towns near the part of Lan-

cashire known as the Fylde, and called by the people "God's own country," because there the Old Faith had always remained. From these parts many of the rural population had been attracted by the great manufacturing movement then commencing, to Preston, Blackburn, and one or two other places, where to this day there exists a considerable body of aboriginal English Catholics. A large number of the English Priests are from this part of Lancashire.

The Irish emigrants and their descendants formed fifty years ago, as they do now, a colony of many thousands in London, as also in Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and other large manufacturing and commercial cities; and "exiles of Erin" were to be found in little knots in almost every town of any importance. These last followed chiefly the trade of "travelling hawkers" of small goods, others were agricultural and other labourers; and these small knots of Irish Catholics faithful to their religion have been the nucleus of perhaps most of the new Catholic parishes established in smaller towns, within the last forty years, in England and Scotland. Too many of these emigrants, owing to scarcity of priests and Catholic schools, and through the general low morality of the English working classes, had become far from what they had been at home in Ireland; but many English converts owe their faith to the good example of some English or Irish Catholic, perhaps of the working class, with whom the Providence of God brought them into contact. And the many thousands of Irish Catholics settled in England have been in a very great degree the cause of the multiplication of churches, and of churches, built often chiefly by the pence of the poor, worthy of the name of churches, in almost every large town. Thus nowadays the Catholic Church presents herself to the English people in a form

not undignified, and is able to do a work for the restoration of the Catholic Faith in England ; especially since the re-establishment of the Hierarchy and the increase in the number of Priests, Religious, Schools, and of the means for their support ; which she had hardly begun to do fifty years ago, when the first missionaries of Rosmini's Institute of Charity landed in England.

The non-Catholic population of England consisted of the members of the Anglican or Established Church, and of the Protestant Dissenters, who were very numerous. The older sects were chiefly the Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and Unitarians. The Established Church had never had much hold on the masses, who would probably have remained Catholics, if there had been priests to instruct them ; and during the eighteenth century it had fallen into a state of deep religious lethargy. Many of the higher Clergy and educated laity were rather more Socinian Rationalists than Orthodox Christians. About the middle of the eighteenth century a great revival of religious earnestness and belief in the Christian doctrines had begun in the Anglican Church, originated by John Wesley, whose followers, however, withdrew from the Church of England where they were generally discountenanced and opposed, and formed the large body of modern Dissenters known as Wesleyans or Methodists.

Early in the present century, Charles Simeon, a Clergyman of the Church of England, having a Church in Cambridge, of the same earnest Christian School as Wesley, succeeded in attracting a considerable following from among the young men preparing for the Anglican Ministry at that University, and this movement spread in the Church of England, and drew into it many of the most religious of the laity. Among these the great philanthropist William Wilberforce, and the late Earl

of Shaftesbury, represent two generations of as earnest Christians as have ever been seen outside the Catholic Church, and who, like the Samaritans in the days of our Lord, put too many of the children of the Old Religion to shame.

As this party grew in the Anglican Church, their tendency was to assimilate their services and preaching ~~to those~~ of the Dissenters, which were of a much more fervent **and** popular character than their own.

The older Dissenters were descended from the old Puritan party in the Church of England, and held doctrines similar to the Lutherans or Calvinists of the Continent. There had always been two opposite schools in the Established Church. For it must be remembered that it was a compromise effected under State authority between the Puritan or Ultra Protestants, who rejected altogether the Catholic doctrines on the Church and Sacraments; and those who believed with Sir Thomas More all the old Catholic doctrines, and wished to retain them, though they were not ready, like him, to give their lives rather than reject the Papal and accept the Royal Supremacy.

The revival of the more Protestant doctrines which took its origin at Cambridge, was met by a counter movement and reaction of the Catholicising School at Oxford. An additional stimulus was given to this reaction by agitations on the part of the Radicals and Political Dissenters to bring about the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church, so as to reduce all religious denominations to the voluntary support of their own members.

The first beginning of the religious reaction at Oxford was in the form of what were called *The Oxford Tracts*. These originated with Mr (now Cardinal) Newman, Pusey, Keble, Froude, and others. They were based on

the principle of a return to the teaching concerning the nature and institution by Christ of the Visible Church and of the Sacraments, as taught in the writings of the Holy Fathers of the Four First Centuries, to whom the Church of England in her Canons points, as the most authoritative interpreters of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament. The same ideas were propagated in their parishes by Archdeacon (now Cardinal) Manning, Faber, Robert and Henry Wilberforce, and by many others of the Oxford School.

Many of these, and very many of their disciples have, in the course of the last forty years, become Catholics, but at the time of which we are speaking, in 1835, none of them had the notion that the sound premises they had laid down in defending whatever was Catholic in the Anglican Church, would ultimately lead them to the Catholic Church from which their forefathers had separated three hundred years before. These conversions were for the most part the pure logical outcome of the study of the Holy Fathers and of the History of the Ancient Church, aided by the Divine Spirit, and were almost wholly without contact with the Catholic Clergy in England. For, with few exceptions, they were wholly unknown, and their churches unvisited by Anglicans, and it was a rare thing when any Anglican clergy or laity of the educated classes happened to make the acquaintance of a Catholic priest, until they came to ask to make in his hands their act of submission to the Catholic Church.

Such were some of the religious elements that were working in English Society fifty years ago. It would be wrong, however, to omit to mention one other important moral element, and this is the writings of Sir Walter Scott, his Poems and Romances. They represent among the English-speaking races what Manzoni's *Promessi*

Sposi exemplified in Italy, who, indeed, stated to Scott, as we learn from Don Paoli, that he considered himself his disciple. Sir Walter Scott was the founder of a school of pure literature, appealing through the imagination to the mind and heart. The immense popularity of his works is a sign that they supplied a want. It was a high, noble, religious, and moral sentiment which these works have done more to foster or create among us than perhaps all the directly religious books that had been published for centuries. They purified the ideas of the young, especially on the subject of love, raising the minds of young men to a pure, noble, chivalrous feeling towards woman, and raising the minds of young women to look for this sentiment on the part of men. These works teach the spirit of the Christian gentleman, loyalty to king and country, a great respect for religion and for truth and honourable dealing. Perhaps most of those who have become Catholic during the last fifty years can trace the attractions of Divine Grace, through the Providence of God, in the pure literature which came into their hands in early youth, as much as to the teaching and high example of religious men, whether of the Puritan or Catholic school, and also to their reading of the English Bible, with which all were taught in their homes to be familiar from their childhood.¹

But to return from the great theme of religion in England to the little grain of wheat there planted in the year 1835—the first Missionaries of the Institute of Charity.

In 1829 Bishop Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District of England, had bought the large mansion and

¹ Great numbers of the working class came first to think of the Old Faith as the true one, through reading *Cobbett's History of the Reformation*, which shows how England was robbed of the Old Faith of our Fathers by the profligate King Henry VIII., and the new religion established by persecution.

estate known as Prior Park, the site of an old Priory, which stands beautifully in its elevated and wooded grounds, south-east of Bath, about a mile distant from the city. Here he had founded a grand educational establishment, St. Peter's College for the junior class, and St. Paul's, to serve both as a College for the higher branches of learning and as a Seminary for the education of his Clergy. It was to fill Chairs in these Colleges that our Fathers were invited to England. They arrived at Prior Park in July 1835. Father Rey was made Professor of Theology, Belisy, still a Deacon, of French, and Father Gentili, of Philosophy; he was also specially charged by the Bishop with the direction of the chanting and ceremonial of the Choir and Sanctuary, to mould them after the Roman usages. Thus he introduced the custom of vesting boys in cassock and surplice when assisting in the Church, as is now general in Colleges and in Churches where there is a surplice Choir. He had also the duty of hearing the Confessions of the greater part of the Community, and of giving public instructions on Sundays and Holy-days in the College Chapel; also of teaching the art of preaching to the young Ecclesiastics. For two years he was President of St Paul's College.

In Passion Week of 1836, Father Gentili, at the Bishop's request, gave the Spiritual Exercises to all the Masters and students. This was one of the first public Retreats after the manner of St. Ignatius ever given in a secular College in England; and the effect it produced was great, even upon some who had rather vehemently opposed the introduction of such a novelty. Among the Masters present at the Retreat were Moses Furlong and Peter Hutton, who a little later sought admission into the Institute. In July 1837, Father Rosmini, at the earnest request of the Bishop, sent four more of his

brethren—Father John Baptist Pagani with three lay-brothers, and soon after Father Angelo Maria Rinolfi, then recently ordained priest, and Fortunatus Signini, a cleric in Minor Orders. Rosmini wrote on this occasion :

Together with this letter I send another little band of my companions, in proof of my desire to second your Lordship's views and wishes, as repeatedly exposed to me by Don Gentili, and also by your own Very Reverend Vicar General. I commend these companions as I did the first to your Lordship's charity. I hope that under Gentili's direction they will serve your Lordship in such a way as fully to accomplish their duties and correspond with their vocation. They have all given proof of solid goodness of life, and the first of them, John Baptist Pagani, is truly and in every respect an excellent man, capable, also, of directing an establishment. He was a Superior in the Urban Seminary at Novara, and is the author of various ascetical books which are much esteemed. He will also be able to take Don Rey's place [who had left] in the Divinity classes. If your Lordship will deign to give me, after a time, some account of the deportment of these my new companions, it will serve to enlighten and direct me.

This letter has been given as showing clearly the mind of Father Rosmini ; the companions he sends are to serve the Bishop, while remaining under the direction of their own Superior ; and the mention of Father Pagani's great gifts and experience as a Superior perhaps hints at the probability of his being substituted, as we find a little later, for Father Gentili as Superior of the brethren in England.

By Father Pagani's means the members of the Institute kept a good deal more to themselves than before. At this time Father Gentili was Rector of the Religious Community, and Father Pagani Minister ; but in 1838 the Bishop appointed Father Gentili Chaplain and Confessor to the Convent at Spetisbury, with the charge of the Mission in the neighbourhood. In the next appointment, therefore, Father Rosmini constituted Father Pagani Rector of the Community.

About this time, namely, in December 1838, the Rule of the Institute had been solemnly approved by the Sovereign Pontiff, and on the 25th March, Fathers Pagani and Gentili, as has been already said, made their vows in the Chapel of the Convent at Spetisbury, and Emilius Belisy, Angelo Rinolfi, Fortunatus Signini, and Peter Zencher made their vows, in the hands of Bishop Baines, acting by delegation from Father Rosmini, in the College Chapel of Prior Park. At the same time Father Furlong, who had obtained leave to join the Institute, made his preparatory vows, and another of the Professors was accepted as a Novice.

During the summer vacation of 1839, Father Rosmini summoned Fathers Pagani, Gentili, and Belisy to accompany him to Rome, in order to make their act of thanksgiving to the Holy Father for the favour he had bestowed on the Institute in constituting it one of the recognised Orders of the Church Militant. They were also, together, to make the final vow to the Sovereign Pontiff. These vows they took, as has been related, in the Catacombs of St. Sebastian. The whole party, with the exception of Father Gentili, who remained for a time in Italy on account of his health, returned to Prior Park in September, for the recommencement of college studies.

The Bishop, as was not unnatural, had been somewhat annoyed at several of his best men having joined the Institute, and though perfectly friendly, intimated to Father Pagani that he should not require the services of the Fathers after the end of the scholastic year.

Bishop Walsh, Vicar Apostolic of the Central District of England, happened, providentially for our Fathers, to be staying at that time for a few days at Prior Park, and hearing that they would be free of their engagements, he invited them to undertake a similar

charge at his College and Seminary of St. Mary's, Oscott, near Birmingham. He offered for their residence Old Oscott, which remained the College for the younger boys for some time after the new College was built. He also invited Father Pagani to accept the Pastoral charge of Loughboro, a considerable manufacturing town, where a good Chapel, of the old-fashioned sort, and a substantial presbytery already existed, and where the Fathers might build additional accommodation, so as to have a Community House of their own as a *pied de terre* in England. Both offers were gladly accepted; that of the Mission of Loughboro was all the more desirable, because it was near the estates of our great friend, Mr de Lisle of Garendon. After Father Gentili's visit to Italy, he returned in 1840 to undertake for a time the Chaplaincy at Grace Dieu Manor, the second place belonging to the family, where Mr Ambrose de Lisle, having lately married, had taken up his residence. From Grace Dieu as a centre, Father Gentili, with the zeal of a St. Francis of Sales, in all weathers, on foot from the moment he had finished Mass till a very late hour at night, penetrated into all the villages for many miles round, and made acquaintance with the people. Many converts to the faith was the result, and seed was sown that was reaped many years later by other labourers, especially by the Conceptionists under the saintly Father Cooke, who had parochial charge of Grace Dieu Mission for a time, also by our own Fathers, who served for many years Grace Dieu and the neighbouring Missions of Whitwick and Sheepshed, until their removal to other fields of labour. The parochial charge of Loughboro has always remained in our hands, served, as has been said, first by Fathers Pagani, Signini, Ceroni, and afterwards by Fathers Gentili, Rinolfi, Fordham, and, in course of time, by Father Egan, who

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has been Rector there for the last thirty years, and has now Father Garelli as his assistant.

When Bishop Baines heard that the Fathers had been invited, and had accepted the Mission at Loughboro, with a view of forming a Noviciate of their own in that neighbourhood, he, with a view of retaining them in his Vicariate, asked and obtained from Lord Clifford the offer of his large House at Cannington, lately vacated by the Benedictine Nuns, who had removed to the Midland District. Father Pagani visited the place, and reported favourably upon its fitness for the purpose; but as a condition was made by the Bishop that all the members of the Community should be employed only in the Western District, the offer of Lord Clifford was gratefully declined; as were also other generous offers made by Colonel Vaughan of Courtfield, and Sir Henry Trelawney, of establishments on their estates—both these were in the Vicariate of Bishop Baines.

In 1842 Father Gentili was withdrawn from the Chaplaincy at Grace Dieu during the absence of Father Pagani in Italy. Fathers Furlong and Hutton being free from their engagements at Prior Park, were called to Italy to complete their Noviciate. Father Pagani returned to England in October 1842, and shortly afterwards, leaving the charge of the Mission of Loughboro in the hands of Father Gentili, went to reside at Old Oscott, taking with him Fathers Belisy and Signini. Fathers Ceroni and Rinolfi remained to assist Father Gentili at Loughboro, so as to leave him more free for calls of charity beyond the local Mission.

In this year (1842) Father Gentili, in company with Mr and Mrs Ambrose de Lisle, paid a visit to Oxford. They were, I think, introduced by their friend Dr Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen College, to Mr Newman,¹

¹ I am not sure whether they saw Mr Newman. He was at that time so closely watched by the newspapers and their correspondents, who

then residing at Littlemore, near Oxford, which was the first attempt at a kind of revival of Monasticism in the Anglican Church. During this visit they also made the acquaintance of William Lockhart, a young Scotchman, who had just taken his B.A. degree, and was residing with John Dobrée Dalgairns, Frederick Bowles, and one or two other young graduates of the University, with Mr Newman in the house at Littlemore. Messrs Dalgairns and Bowles afterwards followed Mr Newman on his reception into the Catholic Church in 1845, and joined him in the foundation of the English Oratory.

In coming to Loughboro it had been the intention of Father Pagani to begin the building of a Noviciate. Land near the town had been sought for, but it was ultimately decided that the outskirts of a large town were unfitted as a site for the Noviciate of an Institute that aimed at a spirit of contemplation. A plot of ground was offered for sale, consisting of two fields of about nine acres in extent, completely in the country. These were purchased. The situation was good, well wooded, on a gentle eminence overlooking the rich expanse of Leicestershire, seven miles from Loughboro, not far from Ratcliffe village, and Sileby and Syston stations. The old "Roman Road" to the north is the approach to the property. Forty years ago it exhibited an equal mixture of green turf and deep mud, now it is a good road to the College. The designs for the building were by Pugin, the great restorer in England of mediæval architecture. The foundations were laid in May 1843, the dedication being to our Crucified Redeemer and the Immaculate Mother. In August wanted to make out that he was a Catholic in disguise, that he avoided Catholic visitors in order not to give occasion for gossip. He had not then made up his mind that it was his duty to submit to the Papal jurisdiction. He was not to be hurried, and would not put himself in the way of being misunderstood.

1843, within the Octave of the Assumption, Mr Lockhart, feeling it impossible to resist his conviction that the Anglican Church had fallen into fatal Schism in separating from the Holy See, came to visit Father Gentili, in whose holiness and learning he had conceived great confidence, from the few hours he had spent in his company at Oxford. After making a few days Retreat under him at the Chapel House at Loughboro, he was received into the Catholic Church, and a little later entered as a Postulant of the Order. He remembers first visiting Ratcliffe when the foundations were just above ground.

The following October 1843, Fathers Hutton and Furlong returned after finishing their Noviciate in Italy, bringing with them Dominic Cavalli, then a student in theology. There arrived at the same time the two Sisters of whom mention will be made in the chapter on the *Sisters of Providence*, who came to found a House at Loughboro.

During this year (1843) and the next, the Fathers of Charity had the honour of introducing into England four works of piety and charity, till then unpractised, but now forming an integral part of Parochial administration.

The first of these was the *Preaching of Missions*; the second was the *Forty Hours' Exposition* of the Blessed Sacrament, introduced as a part of the Mission; the third was the *Month of Mary*, with its daily devotions in honour of our Blessed Mother in heaven; the fourth was the conclusion of the Mission with the solemn *Renovation of Baptismal Vows*.

These devotions were introduced by Father Gentili in the Missions preached by himself and Father Furlong, and he delighted to speak of them as coming direct from Rome, where he had been accustomed to them from

his earliest childhood. The Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament was always a part of the Exercises of the Missions, and he used to say that the great fruit of the Mission always began when our Lord Himself appealed to the Faith of His people from His Throne above the Altar.

The first Mission preached was in the Church at Loughboro. It was given by Fathers Gentili and Furlong. The former, though far from perfect in English, was by nature and training a most powerful and persuasive preacher. Father Furlong had a great gift of natural eloquence which he had carefully cultivated, especially by studying the manner of Italian preaching, and judiciously modifying it to an English form. But beyond this, he had that intense earnestness which comes from profound conviction of the eternal truths and of Christ crucified. The success of this first Mission was great; almost every Catholic in the town approached the Sacraments, and sixty-three Converts were instructed and received into the Church.

They repeated the same exercises in the neighbouring villages of Sheepshed and Whitwick on the Garendon Estate, in each of which Chapels had been opened by the zeal of Mr de Lisle. At Whitwick a Calvary had been set up on a rock. The scenery there, in the Charnwood Hills, is like that of the Tyrol, and from that Calvary Father Gentili often addressed multitudes of Protestants, more than could have been contained in any ordinary church. The result was that many were led to the Old Faith, and their descendants form a body of some hundreds of staunch Catholics of the English working class. They are edifying in their lives, and used to be great lovers of the ancient Roman Chaunt, which they learned from

Father Gentili and Mr de Lisle, who was devoted during his whole life to the Gregorian music. It is to be hoped that this taste once established will not be easily eradicated among a people like those of Sheepshed, for instance, who are specially gifted with a love of music, and who took to Gregorian music *con amore*.

The services of the Fathers of Charity were soon called for, to give Missions in more important places, as well as Retreats to the Clergy and to Convents. In 1843 Father Gentili gave the Spiritual Exercises to the Clergy of the York and Northern District at Ushaw College, the Vicars Apostolic, Bishop Mostyn, and Bishop Briggs attending the whole Retreat. He preached a Retreat also at the Convent at Micklegate, York.

The two Fathers gave Missions also at Liverpool, Coventry, and Leicester, the two former in the Churches of the Benedictines, the latter in that of the Dominicans.

The Mission of Coventry will be long remembered. It was there that for the first time in any public Church and Churchyard in England for three hundred years, was made a Procession carrying an Image of the Blessed Virgin. The occasion was as follows :—In old Catholic times Coventry was famous for its devotion to religion ; the very name was originally *Conventry*, meaning the town of many Convents. There was an annual festival during the Octave of Corpus Christi, when the Blessed Sacrament was carried in Procession, and all the townspeople vied with each other in contributing offerings of flowers, lights, and rich tapestry to do honour to the Procession of the Sacred Host. The festival is still kept up, as a fair time and merry-making, but its religious meaning is gone. Its celebration and great point of attraction has been changed into the very indelicate

exhibition of the Lady Godiva, of legendary fame, riding through Coventry. This representative pageant dates only from the days of Charles II., and, it may be imagined, is anything but moral in its tendency.

One object of the Mission at Coventry was to deter the Catholics from being present at this disgraceful exhibition, and well did they obey their Pastors. Father Gentili promised them that if they abstained from the Pagan Procession, they should have their own Procession, such as had not been seen in Coventry for three centuries, on the last day of the Mission. He fulfilled his promise. On the last Sunday, a beautiful Image of the Blessed Virgin was unveiled in the church and blessed. Father Gentili preached a most eloquent sermon on Mary Immaculate the Mother of Purity. At the conclusion he said: "Well, *they* have had their procession of *their lady*, we will now have *our* procession of *our Lady*." Then the beautiful Procession of Clergy, youths in surplices, and maidens in snow-white veils, all arranged under his eye, accustomed to the immemorial usages of Rome, moved down the spacious Church and around the ample Churchyard, singing the Litany of Loretto, through an immense crowd, chiefly of Protestants, who, by their respectful demeanour, showed that they had, at least in part, taken in the meaning of the religious pageant.

Missions and Retreats, Processions and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, the Month of Mary and the Surpliced Choir, are things "common as household words" now-a-days in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, Redemptorists, Passionists, other Orders, and the Secular Clergy, are frequently and successfully engaged in preaching Missions and in promoting all these devotions. But in the days I am speaking of, near half a century ago, they

were new; and though it is already, I doubt not, generally forgotten who first introduced them, it is not perhaps savouring too much of a vain *esprit de corps* if, in these few words on the saintly Father Gentili, it is said how much he had to do in the planting of these Flowers of England's "Second Spring."

It was while our Fathers were working in the midst of "the harvest" that the Noviciate at Ratcliffe was opened. It was built as a small Religious House, with no view of its ever being a College, and its original name was "Calvary House," called after the Mother House, Monte Calvario, at Domodossola. The first detachment from Loughboro reached Ratcliffe very much after the simplicity of the Holy Family in their flight into Egypt. A donkey-cart conveyed Father Ceroni the Novice Master, Brother William Lockhart Student of Theology, and Brother James Bowen tailor and lay brother, together with their necessary things and domestic belongings; these did not include a table or chairs, which had to be improvised with a few rough boards and blocks of wood. By these three the Chapel fittings were arranged; and the first Mass was said 21st November 1844, being the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, by Father Peter Hutton, who took possession that day as Rector of the Noviciate.

Before leaving England in the spring of 1844, Father Pagani had accepted provisionally the offer made him by the Bishop of an important Mission in Birmingham, but through the instrumentality of Father Gentili the plan was frustrated, his reason for interfering being that he thought its acceptance would make it impossible to continue the scheme of itinerant Missions, which he believed a more important work. The General wrote to Gentili a severe reprimand for his interference

with the plans of his superior, telling him that he had been "led away by a delusion of Satan, *sub specie boni*." He called on him "to renounce for ever his own will if he wished to be a worthy son of the Institute of Charity." Gentili wrote in reply a most penitent letter. He concludes by saying that he had not dared "to celebrate Mass since the receipt of the General's letter, and that the thought of what he had done was ever present to his mind." No one of us ever received such reproofs as Gentili, because no one was so capable as he of profiting by humiliations. The work of his sanctification was to be speedily accomplished. He had but four more years to live.

In September 1844 Fathers Gentili and Furlong were invited by the munificent John Earl of Shrewsbury, to Alton Towers, to preach Missions in the Churches on his Estates. They preached Missions also in Liverpool, Banbury, and Grantham, with much spiritual profit to the Catholics, and instructed and received many Protestants. In the Lent of 1845, on the invitation of Bishop Griffiths, Fathers Gentili and Furlong preached Missions in London and Southwark, and Father Gentili gave the Retreat to the London Clergy at St. Edmund's College, when the Clergy made him a very generous offering collected among themselves, in aid of the building of Ratcliffe College, which was opened in 1846 for the education of boys, with a special view to the encouragement of vocations to the Religious and Ecclesiastical state. Afterwards the design of the College was enlarged, a new wing and larger Chapel were added, in which there was room for the Community and students, as well as for a small congregation outside the chancel screen; converts having already begun to be made from the neighbourhood. In this Chapel was buried Lady Mary Arundell, who will be spoken of in

a future chapter. Ratcliffe gradually grew into a larger College than had been contemplated at first. Father Hutton had been appointed its first President in 1850, and under his judicious care it continued for more than thirty years, until his lamented death in 1883. R.I.P.¹ His life was full of merits gained in the education of more than one generation of Catholic youths, many of whom are now excellent religious men, priests, and laymen in almost every walk of life—in the army, in Parliament, at the Bar, in the literary, artistic, medical, and other professions.

At Christmas 1845 the Mission of Sheepshed was undertaken, and Father Signini went there as its first resident priest. Sheepshed is a large manufacturing village near Loughborough. Here a small country Church, designed by Mr Welby Pugin, had been built by Mr de Lisle. In 1847 the parochial charge of the important seaport town of Newport, in Monmouthshire, was accepted by the Fathers. Father Hutton had gone there as its first Rector. He was succeeded by Father Rinolfi; and when the latter was appointed permanently to the work of preaching Missions, Father Cavalli took his place and has been in parochial charge of Newport up to the present date (1886). This year the Fathers have built a second large Church near the Docks. The priests in charge are Fathers Cavalli, Bailey, and Knight.

¹ There is an excellent *Memoir* of Father Hutton, written by Father Hirst, a pupil of the late venerable President, and his successor next after Father Richmond, who held the office immediately after Father Hutton, until reappointed to the work of preaching Missions, in which he had been engaged with much success for some years. During the Presidency of Father Hutton, the College had been greatly enlarged, the Quadrangle and Cloister completed, with a large and handsome Church. It is a College intended for the service of those who desire a liberal education for their sons, but one less expensive than that of the larger Colleges.

The mission of St. Marie's, Rugby, was accepted in 1850, and Father Bertetti, formerly Canon Theologian and Rector of the Seminary at Tortona, who had come from Italy about a year before, was appointed Rector, with Father Lockhart as his assistant. The Mission of Rugby was undertaken with a view of making the Noviciate House there; since Ratcliffe having been converted into a College for secular students, it was thought desirable to place the Novices elsewhere. Captain Washington Hibbert, though himself at that time a Protestant, had built—Pugin being his architect—the small but beautiful Church which forms the south aisle and Lady Chapel of the existing Church at Rugby. Its beautiful steeple and bells were the last act of the munificence of this great benefactor, who soon after his first gift to the Church received the grace of conversion to the Ancient Faith, and all his subsequent acts were pious thankofferings for this grace. He presented the Fathers with a large plot of ground attached to the Church, on which they built, with their own means and those furnished by various benefactors, the Noviciate House known as St. Marie's College. This was intended to serve as the resting-place of the itinerant Missionaries of the Order. Captain Hibbert also built the schools, and Mrs Hibbert¹ the beautiful little Convent for the Sisters. The whole group of buildings, all in the purest style of Gothic architecture, the college, schools, and church, with its graceful tower and spire, form a most beautiful picture. From the tower the Angelus and musical chimes ring out three times each day.

¹ Captain Hibbert had married the widow of the Honourable Colonel Talbot, the mother of the last Earl of Shrewsbury of the Catholic line. Mrs Hibbert was of the ancient Catholic family of the Tichbournes of ichbourne, who can trace their pedigree beyond the Norman Conquest.

Father Bertetti was called away from Rugby in 1850, when he had only just begun to speak English sufficiently well to give proof of the remarkable power as a preacher, for which he had been distinguished in Italy. He was sent by Father Rosmini to Rome as Procurator General, in order to represent him during the examination of his works, of which mention will be made elsewhere.

The Apostolic Missions of Fathers Gentili and Furlong continued to produce wonderful results. Towards the end of April 1848, Father Gentili and his companion, on earnest invitation, crossed over to Dublin and commenced their missionary labours by preaching a course of sermons through the whole month of May, in the large Church of St. Audeon, in High Street, giving a regular Mission in the same Church, and afterwards a month's Mission in the Church of Rathmines, preaching three or four times daily. The most hardened sinners were converted, and such was the crowd and fervour of the penitents that many people would wait all night in the Church to get their turn at the Confessional, and it sometimes happened that after preaching the last sermon at night, the Missionaries did not leave the Confessional until it was time to say Mass on the following morning. This was all the more remarkable, because 1848 was a year of great political excitement in Ireland: it was the time of the *Young Ireland* movement, the leaders of which advocated armed rebellion, impatient of the great O'Connell's prudent reserve, by which he kept the people, in the midst of legitimate political agitation for the redress of religious, social, and political grievances, within the bounds of peaceful constitutional action. The Fathers added their influence to that of the Clergy, who held with O'Connell's policy, and they were even accused of being in league with the British Government,

because they entreated the people to abstain from courses which could only bring them under the severities of martial law, and make victims for the prisons and the scaffold.

In September 1848, Fathers Gentili and Furlong commenced a Mission in a very poor and, at that time, fever-stricken district of Dublin, in the Augustinian Church, St. John's Lane. This was his last work. The crowds were even greater than ever, the local clergy overwhelmed with sick calls were unable to give all the help that was needed in the Confessionals, so that Father Gentili, exhausted with his previous labours, on the 16th September, when sitting in his Confessional, was suddenly seized by a violent attack of fever. He retired to his room, only to leave it for his grave. The report of his death spread through Dublin like an electric shock; the grief of the people knew no bounds. The Fathers of Charity wished to remove the remains of Father Gentili to be buried in their Church, either at Ratcliffe or Rugby, but the probability of a popular tumult to prevent the body being removed, made this imprudent, and it was laid in Glasnevin Cemetery, where, after a lapse of forty years, his remains are still venerated. He died a martyr of Charity, and, according to popular belief, in the odour of sanctity.

The death of Father Gentili brought the Irish Missions of the Fathers of Charity to a pause for two years; for Father Furlong's health was considerably impaired. Father Rinolfi,¹ who had been preaching Missions in Lancashire, was joined by Fathers Furlong

¹ Father Rinolfi was for twenty years one of the most remarkable of English-speaking Catholic preachers. His command of the language was perfect, as was also his pronunciation and the cogency of his arguments. The eloquence and power of his diction, the grace and meaning of his unstudied gesture, made him a model of preachers, while his zeal and fervour made him an apostle. R.I.P.

and Lockhart in preaching the first Mission that was ever given in the Cathedral of St. George's, Southwark, which had just been opened. Father Rinolfi then went to Dublin to preach in St. Nicholas' and Westland Row, and was afterwards joined by Father Lockhart in place of Father Furlong, whose state of weak health made him unable to undertake the work. They preached Missions together in Dublin, in St. Audeon's Church; in Belfast, in Galway, and in many towns and parishes in the Arch-diocese of Tuam, which was at that time harassed by Protestant emissaries supplied with unbounded subscriptions from England, to aid them to "convert the Irish Papists." In this however, as in all former attempts, these proselytisers utterly failed, though they were able to fill orphanages with destitute children who had no relatives to claim them; or in some cases, relatives sorely tempted in their poverty-stricken condition after the great famine, had sold their children for food and clothing.

In 1852, Father Lockhart's health having broken down, he was sent to Rome for change of air, as the companion of the Procurator-General, Father Bertetti. The Missions in Ireland, England, and Scotland were continued for many years by Father Rinolfi, aided by Father Gastaldi (afterwards Archbishop of Turin), Fathers Caccia, Garelli, Costa, who, together with Father Castellano and Alexius Bertetti, were sent by Father Rosmini to recruit the strength of the Fathers of the English Province; for it had for some years been constituted a Province, and Father Pagani was its first Provincial; in which office he continued venerated and beloved by all, until on the lamented death of Father Rosmini in 1855 he was chosen General.

In May of 1854 Father Lockhart, his health having been restored in Rome, returned to England, and was

appointed, at the request of Cardinal Wiseman, to establish a new parish at Kingsland, in London; where the Anglican Clergyman of a neighbouring Church with his Curate and several of his parishioners had lately submitted to the Catholic Church. This Clergyman is now Father Pope of the Birmingham Oratory; his Curate is now Father M'Cloud, S.J. Kingsland was then a new suburb in the North of London, a mile and a half from any Catholic Church. A good Irishman, a builder, Mr Thomas Kelly, offered the use of his parlours for Mass, and board and lodging in his house for a year, to Father Lockhart. Soon the parlours were too small, and a workshop fitted up as a temporary Chapel was too narrow for the congregation. A large two-storied factory, 100 feet long by 40 broad, on the north side of the builder's yard, was for sale. It was bought and converted into the present Church. Father Lewthwaite, an Anglican Convert Clergyman and M.A. of Cambridge, received into the Church during a Mission by Fathers Gentili and Furlong in Yorkshire, was sent to aid in working the new Mission; for after the first year it had become self-supporting. Fathers Lockhart and Lewthwaite continued to work it for twenty years, until at Cardinal Manning's express invitation they exchanged it for a Mission in Central London, which was unable to support its priest and schools, but, as the Cardinal expressed it, was "well suited, from its central position, for a Religious Order, where they might launch out into the deep and let down their nets for a draught." Here they were able to acquire in 1876 the beautiful Church of St. Etheldreda in Ely Place, Holborn, where the Fathers of Charity have established a central House of the Order. In the year just ending of 1886 the priests serving this Church are Fathers Lockhart, Bone, Signini, Butcher, and Jarvis.

The Church of St. Etheldreda is a gem of mediæval architecture, built in 1280, about the same time as the *Sainte Chapelle* in Paris, and in its way, is not less beautiful. It was the domestic Chapel of the Palace of the Bishops of Ely. About a hundred years ago the Bishop obtained an Act of Parliament enabling him to sell his ancient London palace. The Church became private property, but was always used for Church of England worship. Being for sale in 1876, the Fathers of Charity were enabled to purchase, and restore it to Catholic worship. It has a special interest, as being the last of the ancient churches in which Mass was said, having been leased to the Spanish Embassy during the reign of Elizabeth. It is also the first of the ancient churches in which the Mass has been restored. Beneath the high altar is a portion of the relics of St. Etheldreda, the Patroness of Ely.¹

In June 1854, a month after the Fathers of Charity were first established in London, the important Mission of Cardiff was accepted by the Institute. Cardiff was at that time a rapidly developing sea-port of South Wales, the principal place of embarkation for the coal and iron ore of the mining districts. There Father Signini was soon after made Rector, and laboured successfully for about fifteen years with other Fathers in the arduous work of supplying complete Church and School accommodation for the rapidly growing Catholic population, consisting almost wholly of emigrants from Ireland. In 1854 the Catholic population was about 7000, with one church and one school of 100 poor children. In 1884 the Catholic population had risen to 12,000, with four churches, eleven schools, and two school chapels, one of these and two schools built by the

¹ The principal benefactor towards the restoration of the Church of St. Etheldreda is Henry, Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal, who gave the splendid east window.

charity of the Marquis of Bute, who has been in other ways a great benefactor. The number of children now at school is more than 2000. There are also three middle schools, a Convent of the Rosminian Sisters of Providence, with a boarding school for young ladies, besides the Convents of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd and of the Sisters of Nazareth. The two latter Convents were mainly built by Lord Bute, whose last great donation was the tower, and principal bell of the chimes, of St. Peter's Church. Since the Bishop came to reside in Cardiff, Lord Bute has been a splendid benefactor, in the building of a large new church, and in the gift of a suitable house for the Bishop.

The year after the foundations of London and Cardiff was a time of great mourning for the Institute, when on 1st July 1855 the Society was deprived of the earthly guidance of its Founder. His works had just received the highest verdict of authority in Rome. His children in England were looking forward to his long promised visit, when God took him from them ; they feel sure in love, that he might aid them more efficaciously.

Since the Founder's death the work of the Itinerant Missionaries was continued, principally under Father Rinolfi, aided by Fathers Gastaldi, Signini, Caccia, Richmond, Bone, Smith, Bruno, Richardson, Garelli, Hayde, M'Guire, Cormack, and others.

The Parish of Cardiff has been divided into several Missions, and latterly, seeing that the Bishop desired to make Cardiff his residence, the Fathers of Charity have retired to their Mission Church, of St. Peter's, which was built for them under the direction of Father Gastaldi, before he was raised to the Episcopate in Italy.¹

¹ Fathers Rinolfi, Gastaldi, Caccia, Signini, Garelli, Hayde, Bruno, Butcher, Bailey, and others have been in succession Superiors or assistant priests. Father Richardson was the late Rector, and Father M'Guire is the present Rector in 1886.

The Reformatory of Market Weighton in Yorkshire was established and ably conducted by Father Caccia, and after his removal, by Father Castellano ; that of Upton, near Cork, by Father Furlong until near his death, afterwards by Father Hayde, the present Rector. The Industrial School near Clonmel, built by the late Member, Count Arthur Moore, was undertaken by the Institute in 1884, Father Buckley being the present Superior.

The last work that occurs to mention is the building of the beautiful Noviciate House, standing in its wooded grounds at Wadhurst, near Tunbridge Wells. It was built from designs by Bernard Whelan, an old Alumnus of Ratcliffe and pupil of Pugin ; architect also of the Spire of Rugby. The House is called The Mount, in remembrance of Monte Calvario, the cradle of the Order, and on a lofty mound a large Crucifix has been planted, which is seen for miles around.

The removal of the Noviciate from Rugby has left the Fathers free to open there a Juniorate, or School for young boys recommended for special talent and piety, and whose parents desire to second their own inclination for the Religious State. The Director of the Juniorate is Father Ward. The Fathers hope thus to realize the original intention of the foundation of Ratcliffe, by giving to boys who show signs of vocation, the advantage of the good example of companions who are like minded ; instead of risking the incipient vocations of youths by companionship with the majority in a large College, who are generally less inclined to the restraints of the religious or ecclesiastical state, than to the seemingly more flowery paths of life in the world.

All these works since the death of Father Rinolfi have been ably directed by Father Dominic Gazzola, formerly Master of Novices, and now for some years the Provincial.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE.

(A.D. 1832-1886.)

AMONG the powers which the Pontifical Brief of Approbation confers on the Superior General of the Institute of Charity, there is that of aggregating to the Society, as Ascribed Members, pious persons living in the secular state, and of instituting pious Sodalities of persons living in that state, and also of constituting and directing pious Sodalities, and Communities living under simple vows of Religion. It is under these powers that the Rosminian "Sisters of Providence" of the Institute of Charity enjoy the status and privileges of a Religious Community. We say *Sisters of the Institute* or *Rosminian* Sisters, to distinguish them from the "Sisters of Providence," instituted in France by St. Vincent of Paul for the education of poor children, from which holy Society the Rosminian Sisters are an offshoot.

The way in which Divine Providence caused the work of establishing and directing this Sisterhood to fall into Rosmini's hands was somewhat singular. While he was engaged with the foundations at Trent and Rovereto, which have already been mentioned, his first companion, the zealous Abbé Löwenbrück, whom he had left at Monte Calvario, in his various missionary peregrinations around the Valley of Ossola and the neighbouring parts of Switzerland, found several young

maidens who expressed an earnest desire to dedicate themselves to our Lord in the Religious State; and the love of God which made them wish to devote themselves to the service of Christ their Lord, filled them at the same time with a great desire to do any good that was in their power for the souls of others, whether by teaching poor children or influencing young girls for good, a work which it is generally felt among Catholics none can do so well as devoted Nuns.

Self-sacrifice has always been the secret of the success of Christianity. It derives its virtue and its influence from the Cross of Christ, from the contemplation of the unfathomable abyss of the love of God in Christ Jesus, by which the eternal Word willed to teach His love, to angels and to men, by self-sacrifice even unto death (Eph. iii. 10).

Christ, our Lord, says: "If I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all things unto Myself." "He spoke," says the Evangelist, "of His death on the Cross" (John xii. 32). So in like manner those who sacrifice themselves for the love of Christ—who go up from the paths of life, that seem so joyous, to the rugged heights of Calvary—have a power of attracting and influencing others which none others possess. This is why the Church, by the special teaching and strength of the Holy Spirit, will have her priesthood, not a profession, but an *immolation*, from the moment of taking the sub-diaconate. This is why the same Holy Spirit draws men and women to the life of self-sacrifice in the Religious state. Mortification and prayer, detachment from self and union with God, are the secret of their strength and the measure of their success in the work of the salvation of souls. "Abide in Me and I in you," saith our Lord; "Without Me you can do nothing;" "I have sent you that you should bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain" (John xv. 16).

This is a first principle with all well-taught Catholics; nay, an instinct of Christian faith. All know that the most successful career in the world is at once full of dangers, and unworthy to be compared with the moral greatness of a life that is above the world—like that of a devoted priest, lived for God only. Every pious village or factory girl, or maiden of the upper or middle-class, knows that if anyone will take the best way, considered in itself, and apart from duties she may owe to others and which none else can supply, it is the narrow gate of Religion; and blessed is the soul that has the grace to enter it with a true vocation, that is to say, with the determination to die to self-love and live to God. It will be her happy lot to be able to say all through her hidden life in God, “My Beloved to me and I to Him.” “I live, not I, but Christ liveth in me.”

Filled with the spirit of simple love of Christ and desire to imitate Him, those few simple, devoted maidens, living in villages near the Lago Maggiore, the Simplon Pass, and the Swiss Valleys adjacent, where he had been preaching Missions, came to Father Löwenbrück, begging him to find some Convent that would receive them, in however humble a position.

In Italy, at that day, there were few Convents of Religious women where maidens, without a dower, could be received, and there were few Italian Nuns devoted to works of charity outside their own Cloister. St. Vincent of Paul's Sisters of Charity had filled France and the whole world with the fame of their heroic charity. With no Cloister but their white veil (originally only a peasant girl's cap) and their grey habit (the peasant's ordinary dress), the Sisters of Charity have gone forth wherever famine, pestilence, or war, the municipal or the military hospital called for their services. In France, too, there was that other less known Order of

the Daughters of Providence, also instituted by St. Vincent of Paul, which shared with the Sisters of Charity in the more hidden yet not less laborious work, of teaching the children of the poor and providing asylums for the destitute orphan.

Father Löwenbrück having selected five of these young women, made interest at the House of the Order of Providence at Portieux, in France, that they should be received, in order to be trained, and afterwards return to make a foundation in Italy.

After a time they returned, in company with two French Religious ; they occupied a small house at Locarno, in the Canton of Ticino, one of the towns on the borders of the Lago Maggiore. Here they opened schools for the children of the working class.

All was well intended by the good Father Löwenbrück, but he was a man of zeal, not also a man of business. He made a beginning of a Noviciate at Locarno, but there were no means for the support of the Sisters and Novices, except casual offerings of charity, nor were there any means even for procuring the necessary school requisites ; so that the Sisters could obtain no salary as recognised teachers.

The two French Sisters were therefore soon recalled to France, and four out of five of the Italian Sisters returned to their homes. Only one Italian Sister, Eusebia Alvazzi, remained, with a few Novices who had joined the Sisters after they had opened the house at Locarno. But Father Löwenbrück was not discouraged. His energy always rose in difficulties. He did his best to make some beginning of a community with the few Postulants for Religious life who were at Locarno. In this he was aided by a pious priest of the town, Don Carlo Rusca, who afterwards joined the Institute. It was this good priest who had given to the Sisters his *own house* in Locarno.

Löwenbrück, seeing the affair in such straits, went to Turin, and applied to some charitable ladies of his acquaintance, especially to the Marchesa Barolo, for aid. They do not seem to have taken up his plan of making a foundation at Locarno, but immediately placed at his disposal a house in Turin, to serve as the foundation of an orphanage and infant school. He placed there, at once, two young women who were desirous of becoming Religious, Martha Marchetti and Giovanna Antonietti.

Rosmini was not pleased with the want of forethought and the haste manifested in this whole affair. He wrote to Löwenbrück, clearly expressing his mind, yet accepting the work, since it had been begun, while he gave him clear admonitions to act with greater prudence in future, and not to attempt to anticipate, but only to follow Divine Providence in all things. At last he felt that the same Divine Providence called on him to interfere, for the Sisters applied to him for direction, and especially Sister Giovanna Antonietti, who found she could not get on at Turin; not for want of temporal means, for these were abundantly supplied by the Marchesa, but for want of that spiritual direction which she needed. She had left her home to become a Nun, and she did not see how this was to be accomplished by her becoming the manager of an orphan asylum under the patronage of pious and charitable ladies.

When Rosmini came to know Sister Giovanna personally, with that discernment of souls which was one of his gifts, he saw in her a character capable of high spiritual cultivation. She was rather rough and little educated, like any other of the daughters of the class of small proprietors or peasant farmers of an Alpine valley; for she came from one of the villages that branch out from the mountains surrounding the Valley of Ossola. She was, however, humble, devout, and with a very reflective

mind. Rosmini educated her in mind and soul, and brought out qualities of great virtue and prudence, with an eminent capacity for governing others with sweetness, firmness, and discretion. She on her part had conceived such confidence in Rosmini's guidance, that when the Marchesa thought to persuade her to fix herself at Turin, separating from Rosmini's direction, she wrote begging him to teach her absolutely the way he thought most for the glory of God.

He praised, as it deserved, the zeal and charity of the Marchesa, and spoke strongly of the prospects of usefulness she would have under her powerful patronage. He bade her consider all things before God, and then make her decision.

Giovanna Antonietti decided at once to place herself simply under Rosmini's direction, if he were willing to help her to become a perfect Religious. On his permitting her to do so, she left the house at Turin very early the next day, having placed everything in the hands of Sister Martha, and avoiding saying anything to the Marchesa, to whom she knew her decision would be a grief, as it was to herself, but she felt sure that in leaving, she was doing what God wanted from her.

Rosmini was, just at that time, free from the grave charge of the Parish of Rovereto, and of the Community at Trent, so that he was able to direct his attention to this new work of charity, which he had not sought, but which Divine Providence had sent him, through the overzealous improvidence of his companion.

He began by sending Sister Giovanna to Locarno, to learn the traditions and manner of life of the Sisters there, one of whom had been formed in the Mother-house in France. He afterwards called her to Domodossola, where he placed her in the Convent of St. Joseph, formerly belonging to the Ursulines, which, as has been

said, was given him for religious or charitable purposes by Count Mellerio. This became the Noviciate House and School for the education of the teaching sisters or *Maestre Rosminiane*, as they came afterwards to be called in Italy; for they were highly trained under his own eye in the most approved methods of education. This establishment had already become numerous and excellent in discipline, as well in secular learning as in Religious perfection, as long ago as 1839, the year in which the Institute of Charity received its solemn approbation, and with it, as has been said, the status of the Sisters as a Religious Community aggregated to the Institute.

In the fifty years that have elapsed since the first beginning of the Rosminian Sisters of Providence, they have so increased that there are at this moment more than 600 Sisters in Italy alone, divided into a number of *Houses* and *small Establishments*. The demand for *Maestre Rosminiane* is far beyond what can be supplied.

Their principal Central House is at Borgomanero,¹ a town of some 10,000 inhabitants, near Novara. Here they have a school for young ladies, besides large elementary schools and a *crèche* for little ones. To the central House the Sisters of the small Establishments return in the summer vacation, to make their Spiritual Retreat and renew their relations of affection with one another, and with the *Carissima Madre*, which is the only title of the Central Superioress. There is no *Mère Générale* among the Sisters; the Father General is himself their direct Superior, and is represented by a priest who is called the Director.

A branch of the Sisters was established in England in 1843, by two Italian Nuns. They were invited thither

¹ This House was established by Father Pagani, a native of Borgomanero, for many years Provincial in England, and successor of Rosmini as General.

by Lady Mary Arundel, a convert to the Catholic faith. She was daughter of the saintly Marchioness of Buckingham, an Irish Catholic lady, Baroness Nugent in her own right, who married the Protestant Marquis, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, at that time Viceroy in Ireland. The mother was forbidden to speak to her children on religion, and the sons grew up Protestants, but Lady Mary was drawn to the Catholic faith simply by the holy example and prayers of her mother. She believed her to be a saint, and declared to the writer of these lines that through a chink in the door of her Oratory, which was always locked, and was an object of the greatest mystery to the children and servants, she had seen her elevated from the ground in prayer. Lady Mary Grenville was married to the Lord Arundell of Wardour, a young Catholic nobleman of extraordinary piety. He and his Lady made the acquaintance of Rosmini in Rome, and came to Domodossola to visit him. Lord Arundell was taken suddenly ill on his return to Rome, where he died. There is extant a very touching letter of Rosmini to the young widowed Lady, for Lord Arundell died when there seemed to be many years before them of earthly happiness. Lady Arundell made the acquaintance of Father Pagani at Bath, when he was living at the College of Prior Park; and when he was appointed Rector of the Mission at Loughborough she removed thither, in order to aid the Fathers in their work among the poor Catholics of the place.

On the arrival of the two Sisters, Lady Mary Arundell, received them with great hospitality in her own rented house in Wood Street, which she adapted as a Convent. Leave was given by the Bishop for the Blessed Sacrament to be reserved in the Oratory, so that the two Italian Sisters found themselves at once at Home in "their Father's House." They knew not

a word of English, but by the 25th of March of the next year (1844) they were competent to take charge of a Girls' and Infants' School that Lady Arundell had established for the poor Catholic children of the town. Great was the astonishment, which I can testify as an eye-witness, of the good town's-folk of Loughborough when, on the first Sunday after their arrival, these Sisters appeared in the street on their return from Mass at the parish Chapel, wearing their Religious habit. It was the first time such a sight had been seen in the *Midlands*, and all turned out to see them, following them on both sides of the street; but they meant wonder only and no harm, and the wonder soon passed away. It was succeeded by a great esteem for the Sisters, so that ever since great numbers of Protestants have sent their children by preference to the "Nuns' School," so pleased were they with the good behaviour of the children who had been under their care. Lady Arundell remained as a boarder in the Convent till her death, and when she died, left to the Sisters the greater part of what she had at her own disposal.

Before they had been long in England the Italian Sisters had attracted to them a good number of English young ladies, some from the upper and others from the middle class. In this they were much aided by the Missions that were being preached by Fathers Gentili and Furlong in all the great Catholic centres. The first English Superioress was the saintly Sister Mary Agnes Amherst, niece of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who gave up brilliant worldly prospects, if she had chosen them, to become a simple Religious in one of the simplest and least-known of Communities. I use the word *simple*, because, from the first, the simple ways of Italian peasant and middle-class life have, with God's grace, helped to keep our Sisters in a great spirit of simplicity.

There is a true spirit of charity, tender affection, and union among the Sisters. One instance of this speaks volumes ; the present Superioress has been re-elected every three years by the free votes of the Sisters, and has this year kept the Silver Jubilee of her office.

After some years, through the generosity of Lady Arundell and other benefactors, they were enabled to build the handsome Convent which stands in its grounds just outside the town of Loughborough, looking towards the lofty granite hills that form the *backbone* of Leicestershire, and refreshed by the pure breezes of Charnwood Forest. This is their Central House. Here also they have a Boarding School for young ladies, and in the out-quarters a large school for the poorer class. Hither the Sisters return in vacation time from the smaller Houses, to make their Retreat and recreation together. They are now a community, numbering not quite a hundred in England.

They have small establishments in various places ; one in London, of five or six Sisters attached to the Church of St. Etheldreda, served by the Fathers of Charity. Here they have a day school for young ladies, and teach the poor schools of the parish. They have long been established at Cardiff, where the principal schools are in their hands, besides a young ladies' school attached to the Convent. A third establishment is at Rugby, the beautiful little Gothic Convent, built for them by Mrs Washington Hibbert.

In all these establishments the work of education is carried on successfully. The reports of the Government and Diocesan Inspectors here, as in Italy, attest the skill and persevering zeal of the Sisters, and the efficiency of their method of teaching. For this last they are greatly indebted to the traditions that have been handed down to them from their Founder, Rosmini, on

the science and practice of education, a subject to which he devoted special attention, and wrote on it several important works, in which he brings out the profound philosophical principles that are the basis of common sense, with a simplicity which places them within the mental reach of any person who is capable of becoming a teacher of youth.

The end and spirit of this Body of Religious Sisters is precisely the same as that of the Institute of the Fathers of Charity. They follow the hidden life, as essential to their state, but if called to do so by the Providence of God speaking through their Superiors, they are always ready to engage in any work of charity that women are capable of undertaking, especially the care and direction of girls and infant schools, the teaching of Christian doctrine, the care of the sick in hospitals, visiting the sick at their own houses, especially their own pupils, and other sick persons wherever this is found compatible with their other duties of school teaching, which is in general their principal engagement. They also receive ladies in their houses for private or public Retreats.

They make the three vows of Religion—poverty, chastity, and obedience. In the first instance they make, after a two years' Noviciate, vows binding for three years, which may be renewed or else made perpetual according to their own desire and the judgment of the Superiors.

The Director is appointed by the General, and is his immediate representative. For Confession the Sisters go generally to the parish priest, or to any other priest authorised by the Bishop, with consent of the Superior General.

The Director is instructed to leave the details of

government as much as possible to the Sisters, so long as the Rules and spirit of the Institute are observed.

Once every year, in Vacation time, as has been said, the Sisters all repair to the Central House, in order to make their Retreat together and confer with the Carissima Madre on the works in which they are engaged. After the Retreat there is a Chapter for the election of officers for the ensuing year, and to decide who are to be admitted to Profession. The Superioress is chosen for three years, but may be re-elected with the approval of the General.

The Sisters were always a great consolation to the heart of Rosmini, because he saw them take that mould which he believed the most perfect form of sanctity—the union of the contemplative with the active life; and in the active life that which was at once the most simple, humble, and laborious. He taught them deeply his own spirit of passive waiting on Providence, and of persevering energetic charity when God's Providence had assigned them any work to do. He had impressed them so deeply with his own spirit of contemplation and union with God, that he beheld them going on with their humble, holy work, undisturbed by the stirring events of the world around them in those days of excitement, of wars and rumours of wars; and in the revolutionary tendencies everywhere inciting to break the bonds of duty, not a sister failed at her post, and in the towns and villages in North Italy, none have been more respected, even by those who have but little respect for established institutions of State or Church, than the Rosminian Sisters.

CHAPTER VII.

ROSMINI AS A HOLY MAN—I.

Of the Theological Virtues.

TO speak of the virtues of Antonio Rosmini is to say why he was considered a holy man in the judgment of all who knew him. I shall here follow as closely as possible the substance of Don Paoli's *Treatise on the Virtues of Rosmini*. His picture of the character of Rosmini as shown forth in action, is of peculiar value, because it is the testimony of an eye-witness—his daily companion for twenty years.

The Science of Ascetics is defined by Rosmini as "The Science of the means, by using which, man may arrive at Moral Perfection." He divides it into three parts. The first part teaches the way to overcome our spiritual enemies, and therefore of being on our guard, and *before-hand* with temptation, and consists in prudence and spiritual tact. The second part teaches how to place ourselves in the most perfect habitual dispositions towards virtue; by purity of conscience, reflectiveness, good instruction, clearness of thought, cheerfulness, and the habit of using with facility the powers of the soul. The third part teaches the means of obtaining the Divine aid; or in other words—perfect prayer, the habits of devotion, and frequent use of the Sacraments.

Rosmini was the perfect ascetic—he was in practice the exemplification of his theory.

The general *form* of all virtue "is the love of good

according to truth"—of all good in proportion to its *beingness* or worth. The highest of all good is the *Absolute Good*—God Himself; with regard to Whom love can have no limits. Next, as regards *relative good*, finite intelligences and other created things; these have to be loved according to the good that is in them, or which is capable of being elicited from them, for the glory of their Creator.

This "love according to truth" was the *form* of the virtue of Rosmini. It had been the object of the efforts of his whole soul from the first, to attain this perfection of Charity; to love God above all things, and his neighbour as himself, for God's sake, and all persons and things in God.

He loved God "with all his mind," that mind which was vast, sublime, penetrating, made more clear because illumined by the Grace of God in no common measure. Thus, his whole mental activity was always supremely directed to know more and more of God; he studied God by Nature and by Grace. All his profound studies, his long meditations and contemplations were directed to filling his mind with the "knowledge of the great mystery of God"—the *Unum Necessarium*—the One Necessary Being.

He loved God "with all his heart." He had a vast heart, proportioned to his mind, a heart that was full of *natural Affection*, and filled with the *grace of the Holy Spirit of Love*. His one continual aim was to unite himself in every affection more and more perfectly with God.

He loved God "with all his soul"—one felt that his great soul breathed not for self, but only to give glory to God.

He loved God "with all his strength," for all the powers, affections, talents, sensations of his soul, he had

consecrated from his earliest years as a holocaust to the worship of God.

Antonio Rosmini "loved his neighbour as himself." He loved himself with a pure and holy love, which he showed by his constant efforts to preserve and increase the Divine good that was in him—"the Gift of God"—the Holy Spirit and the virtues that are His fruits. He loved his neighbour as himself, for he never left untried any occasion that the Providence of God presented to him of doing good to those with whom he was brought into contact. He had a tender, compassionate, firm, constant, well ordered, and wisely directed love, for those of his own household, and for strangers. He aimed at doing good to those afar off, and to remotest posterity. For all these he underwent the immense labours and anxieties of writing his voluminous works, and of founding and governing the Institute of Charity. For the glory of God and the Salvation of souls he would only have been too happy to shed his blood.

Such is the substance of the few words of Preface to his work on the *Virtues of Antonio Rosmini* by Don Francisco Paoli, his intimate friend, associate, secretary, and constant companion up to the hour of death. In the case of ordinary men, or even of extraordinary, it is often said, "no man is a hero to his *Valet de Chambre*," and that "familiarity breeds contempt." The *converse* must also be admitted, that when the most intimate daily and hourly conversation with any man during twenty years creates in those so associated with him the highest veneration for his moral character, and a deep conviction of his superiority to ordinary human littlenesses, it is the greatest argument we can have of the largeness, grandeur, and moral greatness of the man so known and so appreciated. Don Paoli will continue

to give us in what follows his estimate of a character which he had so carefully studied. He brings it out under the heads of the *Three Theological Virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity*; the *Four Cardinal Virtues of Justice, Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude*; and of *Twelve Special Virtues* of his life as a Religious.

On Rosmini's Virtue of Faith.

Christian Faith does not rest solely on the motives of credibility however strong these may be, as derived from visible miracles or historical facts; of themselves these could never produce in us more than a natural conviction, not a Supernatural and Divine Faith.

Christian Faith gives us an ineffable supernatural certitude, resting upon the Adorable Truth of God, Who reveals to us the Divine Truths, as *ordinarily* proposed by His infallible Oracle—the Church, Catholic and Roman. This Faith is the effect of a Supernatural Light, conveyed into the soul through means of the *Sacrament of Baptism*, but which may also be received *extraordinarily* by means of what is called the *Baptism of Desire*.¹

It is this light of Faith that imparted that supernatural instinct which was so strong in Rosmini from his earliest years, which was “the lamp to his feet and the light to his path.” “*Dominus illuminatio mea*,” “the Lord is my light,” was his habitual thought. He had the ever-conscious perception of God, which he describes in his *Supernatural Anthropology* as “the seal” or actual contact by grace of the soul with the Word of God Incarnate. Of him it could be truly said

¹ Baptism of Desire, according to the great Theologians who follow St Augustine and St Thomas, may exist without explicit knowledge of the Incarnation, Church, and Sacraments. (See treatises of de Lugo and Suarez *De Fide*.)

in due measure and degree, as it was said of Holy Abraham, he "walked before God and was perfect." To be with him and to hear him speak was to feel that he was one of those who, so far as is given to mortal man, may be called *Viator* and *Comprehensor*; a way-farer on earth, and yet in mind and heart dwelling with God in His heavenly country, only the thin veil of mortality between him and God.

His recollection in prayer was one of the signs of this lively faith in God "in whom we live and more and are," ever present to him in every thing; and when seen kneeling before the Blessed Sacrament, or hearing or saying Mass, men felt that they beheld one who "saw the Invisible." Those who lived near the Church at Rovereto, which when a boy at home he passed daily on his way to his studies, and those who knew him as a youth at the University of Padua, attest that it was his regular custom never to pass the Church without entering to pray, on going and returning from school or lecture, several times each day. His nurse and those who observed him saying his prayers when a child in the nursery, saw in him a something which they had never observed in other children, in his perfect recollection, so that, as they said, "he seemed like an angel who saw God." His letters, from the time he was sixteen, written to friends, to the number of a thousand, shew the deep under-current of Christian faith of his every thought. Many of his intimate companions at the University attest the wonderful spiritual atmosphere, as it were, in which he lived, so that, without effort or reflection, his every word and act spoke to them of the better life, and of this life as a mere passing show. He never forced religion into conversation unnaturally; what he said that was spiritual was spontaneous, simple, not put out for the sake of edification, but

arising obviously out of the circumstances, and therefore it fell like the dew of heaven, imperceptible except in its silent effects on those who were with him.

He was not twenty when we find written down in his Diary the great *principle* of *passivity* which was the guide of his whole life. This came from his great humility, based on self-knowledge, and his great faith in God as Creator, Preserver, and Providential Governor of His intelligent creatures, Who ordains or permits all events, great and small. He here sets down: "The one certain thing that God wants of me is my own perfection. All other things are uncertain, until the Providence of God brings them within our sphere of action, and then our mode of acting towards them becomes one of the means for our own perfection." Hence one of his great maxims was, that we ought to remain in perfect tranquillity, waiting for, and not anticipating, or, as it were, attempting to prompt or give a helping hand, to the Providence of God. But he would have this *passivity* pass into the most energetic *activity* so soon as the Will of God is made manifest, and any special duty assigned by His Providence.

It came from this lively faith in God and in His Providence that he embraced the ecclesiastical state; that he quitted the family mansion, gave up his rights of primogeniture, and when he was made by will the heir of his uncle who was the head of the family, consecrated his whole fortune to the service of God and the good of his neighbour. It was this humble faith in Providence that led him to listen to the advice of Marchesa Canossa, and the invitation of his friend Löwenbrück, as regarded the founding a Religious Institute, which should embody this principle of Faith—of waiting on the Providence of God, of "undertaking nothing, refusing nothing," in the service of God and of mankind.

The same extraordinary force of Christian faith comes out as well in his earliest writings as in all he ever wrote. We find this in his two volumes on *Christian Education*, written, when he was quite young, for his sister Margherita's use in the House for Orphans she had founded, and we observe it more especially in his famous *Panegyric of Pius VII.* Even in his profoundest metaphysics is seen, eminently conspicuous, a mind that was before all things that of the Christian philosopher, who full of faith in God and in the light of revelation, compares together natural and supernatural truths, finding in the former the preparation for the latter, and in the supernatural, the complement or fulfilment of the truths of the natural order.

Don Paoli says :—

Visiting in 1869 the sanctuary of St. Francis at Assisi, a venerable Franciscan Father spoke to me of Rosmini in terms of the highest veneration. He had not known him, and he had read only his work, the *Nuovo Saggio* on the *Origin of Ideas*, but said he, "I have read enough to know his mind. Such books are only written by saints." I heard afterwards in the town that this Father was himself esteemed a saint.

This very *Saggio*, the fundamental work of Rosmini's philosophy, may be taken as a sample of all the rest. His object in that book is to show that, as it were, reason illumines the portal of the temple, within which burns the light of faith. The *light* of reason manifests *that God is*, but not *what He is*. Yet it is a *something* that belongs to God, and that is presented to our mind by God, the *pure ideal light of truth or being*. Afterwards, as he shows more fully in his *Supernatural Anthropology*, by the Light of Supernatural Grace, the Personal Subsistent Truth, the Infinite Self-Subsistent Being, God Himself is revealed to man, partially by Grace here, fully in the more vivid light of Glory hereafter. In this light we shall see the

Uncreated Good which is only logically certain by the pale light of reason, and only "seen through a glass in a dark manner" by the clearer light of faith (1 Cor. xiii.).

But though man can learn much about God by the right use of reason, it can give him only a negative, abstract notion of God, and the appetite for possessing Him. It can no more give him what it depicts, as it were, ideally, or satisfy his longing, than the most exquisite painting of rich fruit and other dainties can satisfy our hunger. This possession of God can be given only by the supernatural grace of faith and charity, which is the actual though mysterious contact of the human spirit with God through the medium of the Humanity of Christ.

The deep mysteries of Faith are inaccessible to human reason. It may see "that they are," but not "what they are." Such are the mysteries of Creation; of the most Holy Trinity; of Original Sin; of the Incarnation of the Divine Word; of the most Blessed Sacrament; and of the Infallible Judgment of the Church and its Head. These and the other doctrines are fully accepted even by simple souls who are right at will, though they may have made little study of divine things. They accept spontaneously what is proposed to them by the traditions of Christian society in the Church, moved thereto by the Holy Spirit of Truth, much in the same way as men believe the first truths of reasoning which we are said to accept on the grounds of *common sense*.

But educated Christians thrown into the midst of the unbelief of modern society may find themselves perplexed, if they begin to study but do not *study profoundly*, and *without prejudice*, the deep questions of the Faith, and especially if their souls have been desolated or disturbed by passion, so that the light of Faith burns dim within the Sanctuary.

Antonio Rosmini was a brilliant intelligence, of profound reflection, great study, and vast erudition. He believed the Divine mysteries with all the simple faith of a child, and yet with the firmness of persuasion and personal conviction of one who is intimately conscious of the truths he believes, as well as of the reasons of his conviction of them. This more profound, though not more firm conviction was the result of long persevering reflection, aided by the Grace of God, with which his mind and will were filled, so that he learned, as St Thomas of Aquin declared he had learned all he knew, at "the feet of Jesus Crucified."

This faith which was not less the simple faith of the child when he had added to it the profound knowledge of the Christian philosopher, this faith which had never been sullied by a doubt, is what he speaks of in the following words written by him to his friend the Bishop of Montalcino. It was at a time of fearful suspense when he was accused of heresy, and his works were placed under that searching examination which was to result after four years in their triumphant acquittal. He says :

What is the one thing I have always desired in all my poor writings, except to be of use to souls. And shall I now be the one to pervert them? This will never be permitted by God. I have this confidence in Him alone, Who when I was an infant infused into my soul the Faith, and gave me an unlimited devotion to the decisions of the Holy Apostolic See ; in Him Who fills my heart with joy whenever I can make an act of faith, so that I could even desire to have fallen into some involuntary error, which should injure no one, in order that I might have an occasion given me for proclaiming aloud this faith with greater solemnity.

This faith he desired to communicate to all men, to confirm believers, to strengthen the weak and doubtful, to enlighten those who "sit in darkness and in the shadow of death."

This is why he established the custom in his Order, which was his own practice, of reciting daily the Rosary and other prayers, to ask "for the kingdom of God and His justice, and that God would send labourers into His harvest, and especially for the conversion of all infidels, heretics, and sinners."

His great works of the *Teosofia*, or the *Wisdom of God*, and of the *Teodicea*, or *Justification of God*, are the result of his profound meditations for years on the mysteries of Creation and of Providence. He treats of the reason why God created the universe, not attempting, indeed, to solve these mysteries, but showing that they ought to be accepted by human reason. He meditates also on the profound abyss of the Divine Trinity, shows its mysterious imprints in creation, and the impossibility of any complete conception of God, except as "a Trinity of Persons in Unity of Substance."

His definition of a *Person* as "the supreme activity in an intelligent subject," is as simple as it is complete, and suffices to convict all errors concerning the Trinity and Incarnation.

But in the Blessed Sacrament, "*the Mystery of Faith*," as it is called in the prayer of Consecration, Rosmini's faith was still more evidently the atmosphere in which he lived and moved. No one who watched him kneeling motionless for hours before the Tabernacle, or in breathless adoration in his short visits to the Church, could help feeling that he was one who had the perception of the presence of the Infinite All Holy in a measure not given to ordinary faithful souls. You felt that you had caught a glimpse of that blessedness already enjoyed on earth by those "whose conversation is in heaven"—to whom our Lord's words apply, even in this life, in an eminent degree, "Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God."

Many who saw him saying Mass were struck by a kind of awe, as in the presence of a phenomenon, which they felt, rather with their spiritual than with their bodily sense. It was not the reverence of his action, the pious accents of his voice, the still majesty of his person, but something of which all these were but symbols—the utter absorption of an embodied spirit in God.

Don Paoli quotes two examples out of many, of the impression produced on those who have related their experiences of Rosmini's Mass. Father Luigi Villaresi, of the Barnabite Order, thus writes :

When I have seen him at the altar, intent on the celebration of the Divine Sacrifice, his piety and fervour have moved me to tears. I felt that I had seen how the Saints were used to say Mass, and when I left that blessed sojourn (at Rovereto), I carried with me the conviction that Rosmini was not only a great philosopher but a great saint."

Another testimony is that of Father Ludovico di Casoria, who wrote from Naples :

I saw him saying Holy Mass, and I was struck by the piety expressed in his countenance, which left on me the impression of a man of profound piety and reverence.

Count Giacomo Barbo, of Milan, writes :

I met and conversed with Rosmini at the mineral waters on Monte St. Bernardino, in Switzerland. I must say with truth that I felt I was conversing with a saint, as well from the nature of his lights on philosophical and religious subjects, as on account of his great moderation in meeting objections, the fairness of his mode of arguing, and the justness of his conclusions. I observed that his Mass was more than ordinarily long, especially at the *Domine non sum dignus* and Communion.

Rosmini's conversation often turned, as it were spontaneously, on the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and in *The Commentary on the First Chapter of St John's Gospel*, and in the *Supernatural Anthropology* he has treated most profoundly on this mystery, and in a way that cannot

fail to move all who have faith to sentiments of tender devotion to this "Mystery of Divine Love."

This same most lively faith was seen in his use of the Sacrament of Penance, whether he heard the Confessions of others or made his own Confession. It was seen too in the way in which he performed every exercise of the Priesthood; in his reverence for Sacramentals, for things blessed, and in the mode of imparting his benediction when he was asked by any one to give it.

It was usually said (writes Don Masante from Stresa) that Father Founder was not subject to any distractions at Mass, such was his perfect recollection in the presence of God. I remember seeing him so fixed in prayer during Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament that it was impossible not to have a feeling of wonder and awe that any one could remain so long absorbed in prayer on his knees without support, immovable. During the ceremony of the Consecration of the Church he had built at Stresa, I remember seeing him kneeling motionless absorbed in prayer in one of the lateral Chapels during the whole of the long function.

Rosmini's lively faith in the Real Body of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament was the cause of his equally lively faith in the *Mystical Body* of Christ, "the Church of the living God." This faith he exercised towards all men; for in all he saw Christ, their Redeemer and Sanctifier, and recognised in them actual or possible Members of "the Mystical Body of Christ," which is "the Kingdom set up by the Lord of heaven upon earth" (Dan. vii.), to manifest the eternal mystery of God's love, not to man only, but, as St Paul says, that "to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifest wisdom of God according to the eternal purpose which He made in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Eph. iii.)

This faith in the Church, as the visible Kingdom of God upon earth, the channel of all sacramental Grace,

and "the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim. iii. 15), caused in him the greatest veneration for the Priesthood, by which the Real Presence of Christ is preserved on earth; and for the Pastors of Souls, especially for Bishops, and above all for the Supreme Vicar of Christ, the Pastor of Pastors, by whom the Mystical Body of Christ is propagated, and "built up of living stones, a temple to God," in visible unity. (1 Pet. ii. 5.)

He would have the priests of his Institute look upon themselves as helpers to the pastors of souls, and to the priests in parochial charge. But especially he laid it down as a rule, that in undertaking works of charity for the good of souls, they were to wait for the call of those who were responsible for souls, and especially, as a general rule, to wait for an invitation from the Bishops, rather than make arrangements of their own accord for undertaking new establishments of active charity. In all external work in the Church it was his principle "to do nothing without the Bishop."

Lastly, he held it as a thing beyond doubt that the Roman Pontiff, speaking *ex Cathedra*, is the infallible Doctor of the Church. This he required to be taught in the Schools of his Order long before its definition as an article of faith. To this *infallible Magisterium* of faith, morals, and discipline he expresses his submission in all his writings. It has already been recorded how, when two small works of his were placed on the *Index*, he made his instant submission, and even asked to be directed, if any propositions in these books were deemed censurable, in order that he might retract any error into which he might unwittingly have fallen.

It was this lively sentiment of zeal for the purity of the faith that enabled him to bear without a murmur the long and bitter opposition to some of his doctrines

on the part of a certain School within the Church. He would allow no one to blame even the excess of language used by his critics, attributing it only to "an exaggerated zeal in so good a cause as the purity of faith among Christian peoples."

His philosophical writings had for their grand object to help men to faith by the right use of reason, and to remove the apparent obstacles to faith created by human prejudice and false reasoning.

So high was the opinion of Rosmini, as of a man whose writings breathe the spirit of faith in the highest degree, that Father Cesare Maggiore of the Oblates of St Charles at Rho, a most learned theologian, and a great director of souls, especially of many ecclesiastics and bishops, who had been formed under him, writes thus :

I feel that only saints can rightly praise the saints, yet I cannot refrain from saying that the writings that have helped me most, in severe and long continued rationalistic temptations, have been those of Newman and Rosmini. But especially against the more terrible and desolating temptations of Pantheism, under which I have suffered, one author alone has been given me by God, and that writer is Rosmini, and especially his *Theosophy*. At the first pages that I read of that work, and almost at the first lines, I felt that truth had taken possession of my mind, my whole being was moved within me, and I ended in tears of gratitude to God and to our Blessed Lady. I had always believed in the most Holy Trinity, by supernatural Faith, but I now believe, also, with the conviction of my reason as well, and I find no longer any difficulty in believing in, and forming a conception of, the mystery of Creation.

On Rosmini's Virtue of Hope.

The virtue of Hope in Rosmini was as conspicuous a mark of his character as that of Faith, which it has been attempted to describe.

His grand motto or device which he had written above the door of his cell at Monte Calvario, was and is still

as he left it, "Bonum est præstolari cum silentio salutare Dei," "It is good to await in silence the salvation of God ;" and over his cell at Stresa, "in silentio et in spe erit fortitudo vestra," "in silence and in hope shall your strength be," teaches the same.

But his hope was from his earliest years placed in the true life of man, "the life to come ;" and he took the things of time only as so many steps by which to arrive at the things of eternity. He was scarcely more than a child when he one day warned his mother to make no family arrangements that should depend on him, so early did he meditate on taking "the Lord for the portion of his inheritance." Very early in life he asked his parents' permission to receive the tonsure, and make his studies for the priesthood. He renounced in will his patrimony, and only that his uncle Ambrogio, who was the head of the family, insisted on making him his heir, he would in effect have ceded his rights to his brother. As it was, his brother being well provided for, he devoted all his still large fortune to works of charity and to his Religious Institute. Thus did he live from first to last, "a stranger and pilgrim upon earth seeking his country," and watching all the ways of Divine Providence, by which he knew his path-way in life would be directed, to lead him to all the good for his own soul and for others, that was written down in the Book of God's Predestination and Providential Order. "In silence and in hope" he went on his course with joy ; he "walked before God and was perfect" in doing, so far as he knew it, "the will of God on earth as it is in heaven," and in carrying out "the Kingdom of God within" himself and promoting it in all others who came within his influence.

When he was lying seriously ill at Milan he wrote :

Recommend me to our Lord. I am out of health : I wish for nothing but the Will of God in all things. When I think of what

God, with a powerful voice, seems to call me to do, it does not seem to me that I shall die so soon. But who knows, He may have designed to do all without me.

Again he wrote to another friend during the same illness :

They say I have one foot in the grave, but not for this am I discouraged ; nay, my faith and hope grow stronger, because God chooses the weak things to confound the strong."

When he was waiting at Rovereto, in ill health, for some sign as to the way in which he was to lay the foundations of his Order, a work that he was at length convinced was the Will of God for him to attempt, he wrote :

I expect here the Bishop of Treviso, who is my friend, and in whom I have full confidence, but let our rest be in God alone. The favour of men never encourages me, nay, it alarms me. Miserable should I be if I put my trust in man. God grant that I may rather die than ever place my hopes in man or in human things.

From Rovereto he went to Monte Calvario, to wait there "in silence and in hope." A letter written to a friend in Milan reminds him that now, in 1827, he was in the same purpose of dedicating himself to the cenobitical life as when nine years before, at Milan, he and the friend to whom he was writing, and another, agreed to follow this life together. He says, sending to him the old paper of agreement :

Read the date of this and judge if I am not the man of December 27, 1819. I said then to my two companions, "My friends, we are thinking so much for others, but what about ourselves?" My words seemed to damp the ardour that had been enkindled, but were they not true? I have never forgotten them ; perhaps I have been tardy in following them ; yet perhaps that seed, after nine years, will strike root ; perhaps our Lord will cause it to bring forth fruit.

Only Rosmini would have blamed himself for being

slow to follow the leading of God. He had turned neither to the right hand nor to the left, he had been employed in learning, with St. Francis "to know God and to know himself, to love God and despise himself;" that solid foundation of sanctity which too many of those who wish to do good for others, neglect to lay, or lay down in a superficial perfunctory way. The result is often disastrous. Men who might have done great things for God, turn out "great failures."¹ Men expected much from their undoubted talents, but all comes to nothing. They are not *gold* but *gilded*. The gilding rubs off, and men see they are not what they thought them. And why is this? Because these are not the well polished arrows in the quiver of the Lord. God will not use them, in mercy to themselves, for they are wanting in that humility, without which there is no solid virtue, no true and ardent charity, no solid success. There is nothing in them but natural gifts; little stimulus to action but vanity. They are like good actors, nothing more, they act the part well, unconscious even that they are "acting;" so persuaded are they in their vanity that they are the apostles they seem. They sometimes act the apostle so well and so unconsciously, that they get the character of being what they seem. They may even produce a great impression by the fervour of natural eloquence, their real feeling of their part, and the liveliness of their imagination, by which they can picture spiritual things, and create pictures in others. They may be the cause even of the conversion of souls. They have the graces *gratis datæ*, but alas, not *gratum facientes*; they are channels of spiritual gifts to others, but not to themselves. Forgetfulness of self,

¹ All that is here said on the *Sanctity necessary for the Priesthood* is taken in substance from Rosmini's *Conferences on Ecclesiastical Duties*, published in Italian and German.

true and profound self-knowledge and self-contempt, is not in them. They want virginity of soul, they are drawn by many subjective loves, and adhere not with undivided heart to the one Spouse of their souls. In a word, they are not saints, and he who would walk in the supernatural atmosphere of the Priesthood, without at least *aiming* daily to overcome self—to become a saint, will fall by little and little, or at last, by a sudden and crushing fall, by the way of vanity, perhaps, into some one or other of the deadly snares that Satan spreads around with ever assiduous watchfulness, to cause the priest to fall, seldom without involving other souls in moral ruin.

Rosmini had spent all these long years in *self-preparation* before he allowed himself to think it possible that God called him to do any special work for the good of others. He was content to do the few small things that came in his way, thus copying as perfectly as possible, our Lord's "thirty years" of Hidden Life in the Holy House of Nazareth. In all this we see his life of *passivity*, of hope and waiting upon God, expressed in the words over his cell, which embodied the idea of his whole life, "It is good to await in silence the salvation of God."

His profound trust in Divine Providence convinced him that, as all good was in the hands of God, and He was Infinite in goodness and loving-kindness to man, He alone knew the times and the ways which from all eternity He had prepared for all the events for man's good that were to issue in time. No man could take these good things out of His hands, or anticipate them. He felt that it was nothing less than an impertinence in man to put himself forward and, as it were, prompt Divine Providence. It was only the Incarnate Wisdom of God who could venture to say *Ecce venio*, "Behold I

come," because He knew that the time appointed in the eternal counsels had arrived. Moreover, when He had come, He awaited everything from the same Divine Providence, and never passed out of the hidden life, but when He was called by external circumstances, and knew the time had come.

Rosmini had studied in faith the virtue of waiting in hope, in the Sacred Heart of Jesus. What wonders might Jesus have wrought, according to our human way of judging, if He had appeared in various parts of the earth, exerted his majesty—simply said, "I am He," "I am the desired of all Nations," "I am come," and "I am Who am;" "all power is given to Me in heaven and on earth," *i.e.*, I am the self-existing Creator in human flesh—which words he pronounces only at the moment of His Ascension.

Jesus denied Himself what His human heart must have longed for, for He says, "I am come to cast fire upon the earth, and how am I straitened until it be enkindled!" The immense charity of Jesus was compressed, or straitened, during all His Life upon earth, by His seeing clearly that the good that was speculatively possible was not morally possible, because it was not the Will of God, who respects the nature and the will of the beings He has made. He does this because He sees the *whole* of all things, and knows in His Wisdom that their free-operation, although it will impede many particular goods, will work together for the greater good of His Elect, and for the perfecting of the glory of His kingdom of the universe.

At that part of the *Constitutions* where Rosmini speaks of the foundation on which his Society rests, he says—"On one foundation does this Society rest, the Providence of God the Father Almighty, and he who should ever attempt to give it any other would take

the way to destroy it. The Superiors of this Society must remember to avoid these two things: they must neither presume on it, nor fear for it. They will presume on it if they ever come to place their confidence in it—in the beauty of its order, the prudence of its rulers, the number and greatness of its members, and the aids with which God may please to enrich it; if, in a word, they should think it necessary to the Church of Christ, should come to look with contempt on those of the faithful of Christ who do not belong to it, and to their own condemnation should judge of others unfavourably.” “Hence,” he continues, “our thoughts must not be of our own Society, but always of the Church of Christ, meditating in the joy of our heart on the promises made to the Kingdom of God, and on the immoveableness of the Divine Counsels which are its inheritance.”

It was for this, and for no other end, that he went to Rome, in order that he might seek the Will of God, from the lips of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. As soon as he had received what he took as a message from heaven encouraging him to establish his Order, he left Rome, nor did he return again until some ten years later, when it was intimated to him that the Vicar of Christ had considered, and was prepared to give the formal approbation to the Rules of his Institute. This brought him again to the Holy City, but no sooner had this been obtained than he went back again to the North of Italy. He never returned to Rome during the lifetime of Gregory XVI., although he was his personal friend and protector. The Holy Father had expressed to him his intention of giving a House to his Order in Rome, but, overwhelmed with other more important affairs, no steps were taken by the Pope in the matter. Who can doubt that a word from Rosmini to his intimate friend

Cardinal Castracane, or to the Holy Father, reminding him of his intention about the Roman House, would have secured its establishment. Yet that word was never spoken.

What he had all along felt on this matter appears from the following letter, written to his great friend in Rome, the Abate Barola, at the beginning of the Pontificate of Pius IX. :

Of what you tell me, that the Institute might easily plant itself in Rome, I know nothing. No doubt such an Institute as ours ought to have its centre in Rome, since its object is universal charity, under immediate obedience to the Head of the Church ; but the times and the moments are known to God only, and you know my motto, "*Bonum est præstolari in silentio salutare Dei.*" This is the rule of all my actions, and I have had it written up over the door of my cell at Monte Calvario. Gregory XVI., of holy and dear memory, promised me a House in Rome during his Pontificate. This was not God's Will, therefore neither was it mine.

About this and other things he used often to say, "We must not anticipate the times that Divine Providence has established, nor presume anything of ourselves, but await everything from God."

Although he knew that Pius IX. was very favourable to him, and he had received intimations from two of the Cardinals immediately about him, that the Pope would gladly see him in Rome, he did not, as many less humble men would have done, take this as an invitation from heaven. He only attributed it to the great kindness of the Pope, and of his friends who had given a too favourable account of him. He remained unmoved. He did not "take advantage of his opportunities ;" as it would be generally said, "he stood in his own light." He said to himself, "I have nothing to ask from the Pope. I cannot suppose that he needs my counsel, I have no right to trouble him for an

audience." When at length he went to Rome, it was at the urgent request of the King, Charles Albert, on important affairs of State; and he went without any will of his own, simply because Divine Providence asked of him that act of charity to his neighbour. Yet he saw that, humanly speaking, he was not likely to bring things to a successful issue, and that if he succeeded it would be the work of God.

When his mission failed; when the Roman Revolution involved new dangers to the Church and to society; when he was treated with suspicion and discourtesy by those about the Pope; when they put two of his works on the *Index*, and the Police agents ordered him to quit the Neapolitan territory, his letters all breathe the same spirit of immoveably tranquil rest in God, Who knows what is best, and how in the long run to bring it to pass; and that evil permitted by Him is only permitted because it is the necessary means for the working out of the greater good.

When his works were subjected to examination he was not disquieted, but continued writing other works during the whole four years of the examination. Thus, "in silence and in hope," he laboured on, amidst the greatest disappointments and anxieties, never for a moment, as is attested by Don Paoli, his daily companion, "losing that serenity and cheerfulness which are the sure signs of a soul whose rest is in God."

Speaking of the persevering energy with which he pursued the great life-work of his Philosophy, Don Paoli says: "Convinced as he was that in this way he was fulfilling the Divine Will, he did not allow himself to be drawn aside from it by the hope of favour or fear of hostility; he did not trouble himself for any human aid; he set forth those principles and theories which, he doubted not, would in time produce salutary fruit.

He would say, 'The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation,' and recommended to us all a spirit of faithful waiting and patience. We who were always near this great man, who saw and heard him under so many different circumstances, are persuaded that there never perhaps was one who worked and wrote with greater confidence in God and greater hopes for the future of the world than Antonio Rosmini."

Don Paoli also relates how "one day we were going up the steep ascent of Stresa, and looking at the building of his Noviciate which was then nearly completed, I said to him, 'Father, we can see here what a foundation of faith you have had on which to raise such a great mass of building.' He replied, 'Yes, and I tell you I am not discouraged nor narrowed because we are now such a little flock; nay, by this my courage is increased, and if we were to make no greater progress in a hundred years than we have made during the last ten, my confidence would not be less, but greater. For you must know that while I was once replying to a letter of the Marchesa Canossa in 1825, there flashed into my mind so vivid an idea of our Institute, and this so wholly unexpectedly, that I was forced to say to myself, 'This is in truth what God wills to be;' and though, according to our principle of making no move, unless drawn to it by Divine Providence, I kept myself in silence and quiescence for three years, yet my confidence increased day by day that I should one day see that thought incarnated; and every day my hope increases that it will be wholly realised. If at present we had a great concourse of people coming to us, perhaps I should fear."

As he lived, so he died, full of confidence that God had given him a work to do, and that what he had begun would be carried to its completion by his

disciples, namely, the restoration of Christian philosophy, which should give men a secure basis for human thought, and should lead men to faith by showing that it is only the abuse of reason that has made the acceptance of revelation difficult. At the same time, he would have the members of his Society cultivate and shew forth so perfect a spirit of self-denying Charity, that men should be led to revelation and adhere to it, because of the loveliness of the Christian character, formed on the model of Him who is the Highest of all Philosophers, the true *Lover of Wisdom*; the Man, Christ Jesus, who is the Wisdom Incarnate.

One word in concluding this short sketch of that faith and hope which were two of the characteristic virtues of our Holy Founder. One who was his intimate companion writes :

I remember Father Founder saying to me one day when our affairs looked very menacing, "I never have so much hope as when everything seems desperate." So complete was his trust in God that he exulted when all human aid failed ; for he felt with St. Paul, "When I am weak, then am I strong." "Our sufficiency is of God."

Rosmini's Virtue of Charity.

"God is charity, and he that dwelleth in charity dwelleth in God, and God in him." We have seen that Rosmini's life was "a life hidden with Christ in God." Therefore his life was charity. The spring of all his actions was union with God, and that diffusive spirit of charity which is the necessary external expression of perfect union—perfect love of God ; for "how can we love God whom we have not seen, if we love not our neighbour whom we have seen," who is set before us as "the image and likeness of God," of whom Christ the God-man has said: "I was hungry, and sick, and naked, and in prison, and you ministered to Me," and again,

“Whatever you do to one of the least of these my brethren, you do unto Me” ?

Rosmini's life of Faith and Hope, which it has been attempted to describe, his detachment from self, his piety and spirit of uninterrupted prayer, are sufficient proofs of the union of his soul with God in Charity. He gave himself and all he possessed from his earliest years to the service of God and the good of his neighbour. The Institute of Charity itself was the creation of his charity, and he left it upon earth in full confidence that it would be worthy of its name, and continue his work. This alone is a sufficient proof of his *Charity to his neighbour*.

Charity to our neighbour has a threefold office—to do good to his body, by Temporal Charity ; to do good to his mind, by Intellectual Charity ; to do good to his moral nature, by Spiritual Charity.

Rosmini's spirit of *Temporal Charity* had always led him to do works of mercy and loving-kindness to the poor, and to all who needed such alms as he had to bestow. Perhaps it may safely be said that even as a child he never spent anything however small on self-indulgence. Indulgence of self was to him no enjoyment ; he had so clear a mind, so tender a heart, that it would have caused him intolerable pain to have spent anything on himself, and left others to suffer, if it was in his power to relieve them. It was this which weighed greatly with him in his decision to embrace the Evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience in Religion. These he practised while he was still a young layman in his father's house, and afterwards, when he succeeded to the family property, and became a *Grand Seigneur*. He felt that it was difficult, if not impossible, to draw a line and say how much he ought to give in charity, therefore he decided to “sell all that he had” to God,

and be "God's Almoner," reserving for himself nothing but things strictly necessary.

Among things necessary he rightly considered one to be the proper maintenance of his family. Therefore so long as she lived, his mother and her comfort in all that belonged to the state she had been used to, was with him a first care. He showed the same consideration for his brother, and though he did not share his patrimony with him, as he was already properly provided for, he gave him the greatest independence in the family mansion, and so far as was prudent in the management of the estates. He was also the means of procuring for him a marriage with a most estimable lady of rank and fortune.

Rosmini also "used hospitality without grudging ;" in all these things attending to the *convenances* of society without extravagance, but without parsimony, while in all his own personal expenses he was a strict Religious.

After he was chosen Arch-priest of Rovereto, his love of alms-giving afforded him one of his most delightful duties. He was large handed, yet prudent, in his giving ; but he made it his duty to investigate personally all the cases of charity to which he gave. It was partly for this reason, but chiefly for their spiritual advantage, that he visited regularly every family in his parish, and kept a complete *status animarum* of every individual under his charge. He knew exactly their means of support, so that he could judge whether those who applied for alms were deserving objects, or whether they were in destitution through their own fault.

But it was not only in what he gave, but in the way he gave it, that he showed the exquisite delicacy of his charity. He gave to those who were ashamed to ask, to those who were in danger of sin from want of timely

aid ; and when he gave, or when he refused to give, it was with a kindness of manner that doubled the value of the gift, or sent those away whom he refused, not wounded, nor hurt with him, but with themselves, that they had not deserved his kindness.

With his old servants he was so considerate, that they all lived to die in his service, or in the family mansion after he had left it. So also with his work people, farm labourers, and tenants ; they were treated by him as old friends, he never raised their rents, which, according to old family custom, were very easy, and whenever unforeseen misfortunes, bad seasons, floods, or tempests made the regular rent too hard on them, he always felt it was but simple justice that the loss should be shared by their landlord.

The Intellectual Charity of Rosmini was joined with Spiritual Charity, and was the mainspring of all the intellectual energy he brought to bear upon his studies, and expressed in his writings. The object of all was to lead men to think, and to think correctly, and to attract them to profound thought by showing them that at the bottom of every thought was *being*, that *being* is *truth*, that it is eternal, infinite ; that the ideas in the mind of man are reflected from the Mind of God, and logically lead to God.

He was sure that the more the mind of man was elevated above the frivolities of life, and strengthened by fixed consecutive thought, the less power would sensuous images have to lead his thoughts astray. He knew that such temptations easily find their entrance into vacant minds, but are easily repelled by those who have been accustomed to reflect. The mind that has the habit of reflection easily perceives its own thoughts, knows when it is distracted, and is not so liable to fall into unconscious trains of thought, which are the

medium through which dangerous illusions gain a hold on the mind and will of man. Thus man consents, almost unawares, because he has half consented before, to thoughts which the delicacy of a trained and thoughtful conscience ought to have detected, and a strong moral energy repelled at the beginning.

Rosmini laid the greatest stress on the importance of using the understanding in prayer, by attention to the meaning of the words used ; and therefore on the importance of training the intellect by mental study, as an immense aid to sanctity. In his *Ecclesiastical Conferences* used by him in giving Retreats to the Clergy, speaking of distraction at prayer he says, "Do we admit voluntary distractions at prayer, do we take no pains to remove the occasions?" He speaks first of external occasions, and then coming to internal, he says, "But as it seems to me, the most important matter on which we ought to examine ourselves is the use we make of our understanding in the prayers we recite" (*e.g.*, in the Divine Office). He goes on to say that "the common people who do not understand the Latin words can no doubt pray well by offering up their mind and heart to God, intending to join in what the priest *means* in the words he addresses to God in the public service, but this is not enough for the priest ; and how if the people mean to pray with the priest, and the priest is not in any way attending to the meaning of what he says to God. An automaton might perhaps be constructed to recite prayers as well as this. These are not prayers, for prayer is the raising up of the mind and heart to God." He concludes, "I confess that it is not a little difficult to accompany, with actual attention of the intellect, that which we mean to say. From our earliest childhood we may have had the habit of reciting prayers materially ; having got the habit, it adhered to us after

we had learned the language used by the Church, and even after we entered the priesthood. Perhaps no one told us in the beginning of the duty of using our understanding of the language employed, in order to make our prayers to God perfect. I say *perhaps no one*, because it is too true that a thing so important and so necessary is but too little inculcated. Those who were before us had perhaps but little of the habit of reflection, and so from generation to generation this material way of saying prayers has been handed on, doing an 'infinite injury in the Church beyond all that can be expressed, and depriving it of infinite treasures of grace which it would obtain through its ministers if all prayed with actual attention and with love. I think it so important to unite the prayer of the mind to the prayer of the lips, that I have no doubt whatever that if all who pray accompanied their words with actual understanding, and the affection consequent on such actual attention, this alone would produce a complete reform in the faithful, which would renovate the entire Church. St Thomas says, "It is not without sin when anyone permits wandering thoughts in prayer, it is as if we were addressed by a man who did not attend to what he was saying. . . ." "These distractions are excusable when they arise from human infirmity in those who set themselves to pray with a true spirit, and from the instinct of the spirit, but through human infirmity their mind afterwards wanders."

But for all this, such distractions may be voluntary in their cause if that cause arises from a frivolity of mind, never trained to steady, continuous, and accurate thought and attention to the meaning of words; (for these are nothing but the expressions of ideas), and to the ideas themselves of which they are the expression. All deep studies tend to produce these habits in the mind, but no

studies do this so effectually as a good course of Christian philosophy. For philosophy taken broadly is the science of the reasons of things, and especially of the ultimate reasons or grounds of thought, and therefore of all words which express thoughts. Under all the reasons of things there lies implicitly the ultimate reason, and this takes us to the first cause. Philosophy is that study which of all others cultivates all the natural powers of the soul, teaches it the art of subjecting sense and imagination to reason, as reason herself stands subject to the Light of Truth, which constitutes man a reasonable being, and subjects him to the exigence of Truth "the Supreme Reason or Light, which, as St. Augustine and St. Thomas teach, is in God and is imparted to man."¹

Rosmini's Spiritual Charity.—"God is Charity, and he that remaineth in Charity remaineth in God, and God in him." To remain or abide in God is, throughout all Rosmini's theology, as in that of the great Fathers of the Church, and of St. Thomas, St. Bonaventura, and the great Theologians, no misty metaphorical expression. It means the ineffable condition of a soul "made partaker of the Divine Nature" (2 Peter i. 4). Rosmini calls it *perceptio Dei*, *perception of God*, and *perceptio Deiformis*, or *Christiformis*; and by the word *perception* he always means a something actually felt, either through the medium of the body, or immediately by the spirit—something therefore real and tangible, and which actually *touches*, as distinguished from what we only *think of*; this last he calls *ideal being*, the first *real being*. In this way we

¹ Lex Æterna seu Divina est Ratio Divinæ Sapientiæ—"Lex naturalis est *participatio* Legis æternæ in rationali creatura, juxta illud Davidicum (Ps. iv.): Quis ostendit nobis bona? Signatum est super nos lumen Vultus Tui Domine; ordinem naturalem conservari jubens, perturbari vetans." (St. Augustine quoted by St. Thomas. See note in the *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis*—Gury, S.J.)

may arrive indeed at the negative idea of God by means of the idea of *being* which is in our minds by nature. But no idea we are capable of forming by nature can give us the positive concept of God or the actual perception of His Reality. This is where Rosmini's system is the very antipodes of Pantheism, which says that the positive notion and the Reality of God is *naturally* presented to man. They say, "We think of universal Being because we see it in everything, and universal Being is God."

In Rosmini's system the *ideal* and *real* order are shown to be such distinct *forms* of *being* that no idea can give us the *real*, no thought can give us the *substance* thought of, any more than a painting of food can support our body.

The state of Charity, "of abiding in God," is the state of Sanctifying Grace, and this is an actual perception or touching of God, as the perception of our body by our soul is an actual touching of soul and body. This last gives its natural life to the body, and the supernatural perception or actual contact of God by our soul gives the soul its supernatural Life, and acting on the human mind and will, and on the whole person and nature of man, it imparts the Theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity.¹

The state of Charity is the eternal destiny of man.

¹ The supernatural perception, or contact of our spirit with God, is expressed in the *Missal* prayer; "*Perceptio Corporis Domini*;" and in the "*Deus qui humanæ substantiæ*," where we pray: "*Ejus Divinitatis esse consortes*;" so also St. Peter says, "*Divinæ Naturæ participes effecti*;" that we "are made partakers of the Divine Nature" (2 Peter i. 4). The Sacred Humanity of God Incarnate is the medium of our union with God; "I am the Vine," says our Lord, "you are the branches;" "Abide in Me and I in you"—and speaking of the Holy Eucharist: "He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood abideth in Me, and I in him" (St John xv. 6).

"This is the Will of God, your sanctification." This was "that fire which Christ our Lord came to cast upon the earth," to enkindle in man the love of God that was in Him.

This is the reason of the name Rosmini chose for the Institute of Charity. Hence he lays it down as the first of our Rules. "The End of this Society is the salvation and sanctification of our own soul ;" because he saw clearly that, as the sanctification of the world was begun in the individual sanctification of Christ, who says, "For their sakes do I sanctify Myself, that they also may be sanctified in Truth" (John xvii. 19) ; so the individual sanctification of His disciples was to be a divinely-appointed means for the sanctification of the world. Christ declares He had come to found "The Kingdom of God upon earth." He says to His disciples, "Fear not, little Flock, it is My Father's goodwill to give you a Kingdom." Then He tells them to live detached from earth, to have their heart in heaven, to seek after perfect justice here, "Seek ye the Kingdom of God and His justice ;" and tells them "the Kingdom of God is within you," *i.e.*, it is contained potentially in their own individual sanctification.

This spiritual charity which begins at home, in order that it may diffuse itself abroad, embracing in desire the ends of the earth—all good to all mankind—all that may tend to their spiritual sanctification—this is the one end of the Society ; and the second principle is perfect immobility where God has placed us, sanctifying ourselves by the perfect performance of every duty of our state, seeking the kingdom of heaven by justice. The third is, that should God call us by His Providence, especially by obedience to those who rule in the Church of God and have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, then, instantly, and with all the pent-up fire of a

charity like that of Christ, which is straitened until the earth shall be enkindled, "the Father or Brother of Charity, according to the mind of Rosmini, and he would have us all like-minded with himself,—throws himself into his work, regardless of self, of success, or failure. Such is the Institute of Charity according to the "pattern shown him on the Holy Mount," when an eremite like Moses, Elias, or Christ in the Desert, he wrote the Rules and Constitutions of the Order of Charity. Who is there amongst us who does not feel the blush of shame, in writing or reading words like these, when "he looks on this picture and on that"—what he ought to be, what his Founder expected from him, what has been eternally decreed shall be the true picture of a Father or Brother of Charity, and then contrasts this with himself. God grant that humility based on self-knowledge and self-contempt may be in us all the basis of justice (for humility is truth), on which God may be pleased to raise the edifice of charity, using us as instruments, because, individually, we feel we deserve nothing but reprobation.

Before concluding this chapter on the heroic virtue of Charity in Rosmini, it may not be out of place to say a word of his love of those who opposed him and did him injury. Some would have called them enemies, but he always severely chid the use of that word, and only called them his "adversaries" or "scientific opponents." For instance, he wrote to one of his companions:

It seems to me that you have allowed yourself in censures of other Religious Orders, and especially of that Order to which we owe so much, since from it we have taken so many beautiful Rules. I pray you most earnestly to correct yourself, making the sign of the Cross on your tongue. Believe me this is most important for the sake of charity, edification, and gratitude (since we are children of so many of the other Orders), and also for the sake of prudence.

Don Tommaso Bottea, parish priest of Male, a man of great weight, writes that

Among many other traits of Rosmini's virtues, I remember when once at table with other priests, who were dining with him, one remarked in a deploring tone, that he was troubled with so many enemies ; he at once replied, " Signor Abate, do not say enemies, but adversaries ; I know of no enemies."

No one who knew him ever heard him say an impatient word of those who differed from him, nor of the ways they took to propagate their opinions, and to obtain the condemnation of his works, and as a necessary consequence, by implication, the suppression or ruin of his Order, which to him was as the apple of his eye, because he believed it was the work of God. He had too much confidence in God to fear even this, still less did he fear the condemnation of his works, first, because he believed that what he had written was true ; secondly, because if in any part it was not true, he wished to know this, that he might give glory to God by his own humiliation ; thirdly, as he believed his Order to be the work of God, so he believed God would not have permitted him to write what, if condemned, would practically destroy, in all human probability, the work of his Order. But with Rosmini there was but one necessary thing, the advance in his own soul of the Kingdom of God's charity ; all else was but a possible means, which God might use, or not use, for the propagation of his Kingdom. Failure or success were only means in the hands of God. The one moving principle of his whole life was, " Seek ye first of all the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all other things shall be added unto you."

CHAPTER VIII.

ROSMINI AS A HOLY MAN—II.

Of the Cardinal Virtues in Rosmini.

OF the cardinal virtues, the first is *justice*. What has already been said of Rosmini's *faith* and *charity* covers indeed all the ground of justice, for, as has been repeated many times, justice¹ is "to give to each his due," "*reddere suum cuique*," to respect the rights of each, and not draw to our own subjective advantage what belongs to another. Man's whole duty is to put the true value on each being as he weighs it in the unerring balance, in the light of truth. It consists in throwing nothing of man's own into the scale, to disturb the true weight, but in recognising *being* according to the being that is in it. This is his one high rule of morality.

There was nothing in Rosmini more conspicuous than that God was the object of all his thoughts. The homage of his whole being to God was, as it were, spontaneous, like the breath we draw without any conscious effort. His works were active love of God; the love of one whose life can only be expressed in the words of St. Paul, true in their degree of all Saints and saintly men, "I live, not I, but Christ liveth in me." So did he perform with all the Saints, *in union with Christ*, who is the only perfect lover of God, the duty of justice

¹ The word *justice* is used in the strict theological sense of *justitia*; *reddendi suum cuique*, of paying what is due, not to man only, according to the restricted sense of the English word justice, but what is due also to God.

to God, which is perfect charity, paying to Him the *suum cuique*, rendering to God His due, through Jesus Christ our Lord. This same spirit of justice to God made him regard all things as under His dominion, to be treated by him as a steward treats his master's property; so he regarded every moment of his time, and all things that were placed at his disposal, or brought under his influence. Whatever came to him by the Providence of God, whether things or persons, he treated as talents trusted to him to negotiate to the utmost advantage. Thus his whole life was a sacrifice to duty, he left no time or occasion for the exercise of inclination. Such was the character of his daily life as narrated by those who were his daily and hourly companions; in his devotions, his studies, his meals, his walks, his conversations, his relations with those of his household or communities, and with those without, strangers, men of the world, men of business, savants, and statesmen.

Meek as he was habitually, so that he was never ruffled in temper, one thing moved him to anger and brought the blood into his face, showing that by nature he was fiery. This one thing was a want of justice, truth, and straight-forwardness, even though it injured no man. He detested even the common forms of excuse often used by good people, according to the customs of society, and he would never employ them himself; even simple exaggeration gave him pain, and those who were with him, and committed this fault, would see by his manner that it did not please him.

He was minute in his attention to all that concerned the expenses of his household and of every house in the Order, as also in all that belonged to the general administration of his property. He expected the same of all, for according to the Constitutions as sanctioned by the

Church, the vow of poverty leaves all rights of property in the hands of individuals, only they can apply nothing to themselves, nor to any other purpose except under the direction of obedience.

He would have nothing wasted, and would often repeat the words of our Lord, "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost."

He was very scrupulous not to go beyond his income, and never allowed the capital itself to be touched after it had been assigned, as the Constitutions require, to some particular work of charity.

He was a strict observer of all laws, whether of Church or State, and when he found the State interfering with the rights of education, of association, of matrimony, or with the temporal possessions of the Church, he combated to the utmost, and only gave way so far as was possible in conscience, and to avoid graver evils.

He was most unwilling that there should be any dissensions between Church and State. He laboured hard in his writings, and in his conferences with leading statesmen, to keep the State, Christian, and to prevent its interference with the rights of conscience. He aided much in keeping the poor-school education in Italy Christian, and Catholic ; and his Nuns or *Maestre Rosminiane*, as they are generally called, to the number, now of more than 600, in small communities in numbers of towns and rural districts in the north of Italy, attest his success. He did all that was in his power, by his writings, and in his arguments with Ministers of State, to preserve the sacredness and inviolability of the matrimonial contract. For he knew that the just rights of the Church and of society would be best secured if the rights of conscience in education and of the Christian

household were safeguarded.¹ His zeal for justice as regards the Pope's temporal sovereignty was conspicuous. He did his best to preserve it, by the project of a Constitution for Italy and for the Roman States, and for the Federation of Italian Sovereigns, which would have preserved their rights intact, with the Pope at their head ; as has been seen in the chapters on *Rosmini's Diplomatic Mission to Rome*.

Rosmini's Virtue of Temperance.—Self-government had been his constant study. One in whom the light of truth and justice, the light of the "Reddere suum cuique," burned so brightly, could not easily be self-indulgent, and allow himself to follow the pleasant rather than the right. Vigilance was one of his great characteristics, combined with continual prayer, or rather a life of union of mind and heart with God. "Watch and pray lest you enter into temptation" was the constant stimulus of this pure and humble soul. It is no wonder then that he was temperate in all things. At meals he always had some *Life of a Saint* read by one of his Novices or Clerics in turn, and it was observed that so deeply interested was he in the reading, that it would often seem pretty certain that he took no notice of the food he was eating. There is a tradition, that once his lay brother by some accident poured oil into his cup instead of coffee, and that he seemed not to have noticed it. It was only after the meal that the brother discovered what he had done. Of wine, Don Paoli writes: "It may be said that what he took was scarcely more than enough to colour the water, it was nearer to total abstinence than to moderation."

His conversation showed the same spirit of temperance. It was as perfectly as possible framed after the

¹ See *Filosofia della Politica* and *del Diritto*, which treat exhaustively on all the public, social, and private rights.

model of the prayer of David, "O Lord, set a watch upon my tongue, and keep the door of my lips." He spoke all that was necessary to keep up cheerful conversation, but no more. No one ever heard him speak about the profound things and stores of erudition that were in his mind, unless he was directly consulted, and then he spoke simply and with as few words as possible. Vanity, and a desire to shine, was not in him. He said once to one who had his confidence, that he did not think he was troubled with vanity, for that he felt real pain when he was praised, so intimately was he persuaded of the truth of "Non nobis Domine," "not unto us, O Lord, but to Thy Name be the praise," "nisi Dominus edificaverit domum," "unless the Lord shall build the house, their labour is in vain who build it."

But in nothing did his temperance and self-command come out more than in that waiting upon Providence, which was, as we have seen, his master characteristic, "Bonum est præstolari in silentio salutari Dei."

On Rosmini's Virtue of Prudence.—That grand dominion which Rosmini had been enabled to acquire over himself, his senses, imaginations, thoughts, and affections, and the great light from God in which he saw all things, produced that happy condition of soul of which the Psalmist speaks, "Anima mea in manibus meis semper," "My soul is always in my hands." Such a soul has necessarily the virtue of prudence.

For this virtue embraces and presupposes the virtues of prevision and of counsel. It is prudence that directs our choice of the end and of the means best adapted to reach it. It was prudence that directed him to justice, as at once the end and the means of the whole Christian life; to the work of building up the kingdom of God's justice within us, and of extending it to the uttermost part of the earth.

This prudence in the application of the means to the end he carried into the minutest details. It was seen in the administration of his temporal goods, and of those assigned to any work in his Order, in the circumspection combined with liberality in his alms-giving. It is seen conspicuously in the Rules laid down in his Constitution about undertaking works of charity; and in his provision that all property in the Order should be held by individuals responsible before the State as citizens, while they used their property according to their conscience, with the counsel of Superiors. The Order was, before the law, as has been said in another place, *not a moral body*, but a voluntary association of friends, living together in their own house, and for their own purposes, so long as it pleased them to do so.

The prudence of this arrangement is clearly seen of late years, since Corporate Religious property has been seized in several Catholic countries, whereas the Institute of Charity has lost nothing and can lose nothing, because it is only an assemblage of individual citizens, whose private rights cannot be touched without touching the rights of private property in general, which could only result from socialistic revolution.

His prevision and wisdom appears also in his refusing to give a Religious habit to the members. The priests are simply dressed as other priests, the school brothers as clerics, with a slight difference in their collar, which distinguishes them from the priests; and the lay brothers in a workman's dress or in a common black coat, such as is used by seculars. He said once when asked the reason of this, "Man is but too apt to exalt himself, and when he gets a distinctive habit on his back, which is looked upon as an honourable badge, he is very apt to think something of himself. The exterior habit has

nothing to do with interior virtue, and if it may sometimes be a help to us, it is because we are very little spiritual, and very weak in virtue."

The Constitutions are a marvellous monument of prevision and wisdom. "One day," says Don Paoli, "I said to him, 'Father how is it that other Orders were first established and grew up, and then their Constitutions were written, but ours are ready-made from the first.' He answered, 'You need not wonder at this. Other Orders had to create, we have only to copy, and take advantage of their works. We have three Holy Founders of our Institute: St Augustine, whose spirit should be ours, and which is conspicuous in his works as regards the twofold order of charity; St Ignatius, as regards the interior government of the Society; St Francis of Sales, as regards his singular spirit of gentleness and tranquillity.'" The modesty of a great mind which seeks only to copy and compile, is a mark of great prudence.

Rosmini, though his was a mind on which the truth came like a lightning flash, never acted on the spur of the moment. He tested his intuitive perceptions by reflection, long deliberation, and continual prayer; and even when he was convinced that a thing was good and practicable, this was not enough unless he clearly discerned that, in the Providential guidance of external circumstances, the time and the way for undertaking it had arrived. Here was his great prudence that he looked for the end and the means, solely, to the Wisdom of God, and the Power of God to carry out the purposes of His love; trying, as has been said more than once, to make himself and others, polished arrows that might be fitted to the use of Him Who alone can direct them so as to strike the mark.

Of Rosmini's Virtue of Fortitude.—Rosmini was long

in deliberation, and in this his fortitude was conspicuous, no less than in his prompt energy in execution, tenacity of purpose, and calm tranquil perseverance.

Fortitude causes man to rise to the level of great occasions; to dare to undertake great things; to encounter obstacles and dangers, from which weaker spirits shrink. It is a certain sense of interior power of soul, and a light of prevision, which would seem like an instinct in some great men that endues them with this fortitude. In Rosmini there would seem to have been all this, but he had besides a supernatural fortitude of waiting on the Providence of God. He had besides that strength which is based on humility—a sense of utter incapacity for doing any good for mankind in the moral order except through Divine Providence, the power of God, and the wisdom of God. It is such humility that is the great stimulus of prayer, of the *prayer of power*, of which it is said by Christ, “Nothing shall be impossible to you.” Rosmini’s supernatural fortitude was the strength of weakness, as was that of St. Paul, who says, “When I am weak, then am I strong.”

It needed the gift of supernatural fortitude in an exalted degree, to have drawn Rosmini from his humble hidden life, to project two of the greatest works that man could conceive, viz., to reduce philosophy to a system and to restore to it the ancient reasonable grounds, of the *objectivity* of truth. In doing this he knew that he must necessarily encounter the greatest opposition from other schools of philosophy, within and without the Church. The other work was the establishing of a Religious Institute of boundless Charity, which should be, in the moral order, somewhat like the idea of *being* in the intellectual order, absolutely indeterminate, unlimited, but capable of universal application and expansion.

Such was his courage and force—like the “Virgin Knight” he bore

“A virgin heart in work and will,
His strength was as the strength of ten,
Because his heart was pure.

Such was the fortitude, resting wholly on the strength of weakness, of a soul that was strong because undefiled by its own subjectivity. It was the perfect exemplification of his own motto, “In silentio et spe erit fortitudo vestra.”

CHAPTER IX.

ROSMINI AS A HOLY MAN —III.

The Essence of the Institute of Charity as exemplified in the Life and Virtues of Rosmini.

To give the most precise notion of the Essence of the Institute of Charity is only to set forth the Life and Virtues of its Founder. The Rules he impressed on his Institute are those on which his own life had been modelled, for, like our Blessed Lord and Master, he “began to do and to teach,” learning by practising, teaching by doing.

Rosmini throughout his whole life detested nothing so much as outside pretence, falsehood, and meanness. His intellect held moral principles—truth in action—the innate sense of duty, as its most luminous convictions; they were still more the persuasions of his will, but above all, his whole life was their most deliberate and entire expression.

Consistency and thoroughness were his ruling characteristics, and the heroicity of his life was seen in the undeviating consistency and intensity of action with which he reduced to practice his great principle of morality, *ricognoscere l'ente secondo la sua entità*—the divine imperative which dictates to every man “recognise *being* according to its *beingness*—according to the exigence of the nature of that being.

His life was the expression of this principle; hence he was *thorough* in all things, perfectly genuine and true in every thought, word, and action; loving God

above all things, because He alone is Infinite, Essential Being, and all other beings, whether persons or things, in God, and for God, according to the measure of being or good that is in them from God, or which in God's Providence and Grace might be educed from them, for the carrying out of the eternal purposes of God and His glory in creation.

Rosmini was, therefore, a man of entire self-sacrifice ; and, in this age, when the useful and the pleasant are the end of most men's thoughts, words, and actions, and when success is, to the many, the only measure of right, he set himself to follow the one only thing he saw which was worth following—to succeed in which was the only true success—the one light which so fixed the eye of his soul that all lesser lights paled before it. This light was *truth*—heavenly truth—the one light of the firmament of heaven that shines down upon this earth—divine objective truth, by which man is able *if he will* to see truth in all things—the essences of things. Therefore his whole soul sought after justice, which is the honest recognition and love of *truth* in all things—to give what is just to all, and therefore, above all, to be just with God.

This led him to the great principle of Charity, which is a Divine fire supernaturally infused into the soul, nay rather, “the Holy Spirit shed abroad in the human heart,” by which through actual union with God the Christian is made “a partaker of the Divine nature,” and it becomes possible for man to love God with all his powers, natural and supernatural, with an infinite love, through union with the love of God that is in the heart of Christ Jesus our Lord.

Hence he felt himself moved to draw men into union with himself, for love is essentially diffusive, that they might seek with him, and aid one the other to seek after

this Truth, Justice, and Charity in God; and to promote their growth in the souls of other men, if it should please the Providence of God to make use of him or of any of those whom God might give him, in order to draw other men to the love of God for which they were created.

This is the meaning and design of the Institute of Charity. It is nothing but the perfect Christian life of imitation of Jesus Christ, followed under the vows of effective poverty, chastity, and obedience, which aid the soul to detach itself from all that is not God, and is not loved for God's sake. Rosmini could with difficulty be persuaded that he was called to found a Religious Order. He said in the audience he had of Pope Pius VIII., "I am not called by any special and extraordinary vocation like St. Ignatius." He went on to explain to the Pope that he only aimed at leading himself, and drawing others to lead, the perfect Christian life under the vows of the Evangelical counsels; that they would not aim at undertaking any special work, but only at being ready for any work to which God might please to call them, especially through the voice of Christ's Vicar upon earth. To this the Pope replied, "You are on the right road, provided you begin thus in a small way, not aiming at great things. I give my blessing on the way of perfection you have placed before me."

The Rules and Constitutions of the Institute of Charity as they were formed by the Founder and sanctioned by the Church, have this one end in view, "*to undertake nothing* beyond the sanctification of our own soul, *to refuse nothing* to which the voice of God's Providence may call us; for this on receiving God's call becomes an element in our own sanctification." It was this which Rosmini said was shown him in an instant like a flash of light. He had laid down the germ at Rovereto on

December 10, 1825, as has been seen in the first part of this work, where he speaks in his Diary of what he calls *passivity*, namely that we are not to go, *in action*, beyond ourselves, without a call from God, but have to attend to the cutting down and rooting up of our vices, the frightful growth of the inherent corruption of our nature through original sin. These are the moral thorns and thistles of the *spiritual desert* of our own souls which we have to cultivate, until by grace, restored in the higher region of the soul—its personality—and by our own exertions and “sweat of our brow,” we have reduced corrupted nature, with all the affections of our soul, to a *spiritual paradise*, in which God walks once more with man on earth, and the soul enjoys a consciousness of its supernatural life of union with God, as real as the consciousness of the union of soul and body which constitutes man’s sense of his natural life, health, and vigour, and thus, so far as human frailty permits, all the acts, words, and thoughts of the Christian are directed immediately to God.

In order to produce in the soul this blessed state of peace with God—“the Peace to men of good will”—Rosmini gives what he calls “the twelve instruments of the Spiritual Art”—“*duodecim instrumenta Artis Spiritualis*,” “which,” as he says, “if used by Novices continually day and night will work out the perfection of their souls.”

“We take the classification of these virtues,” says Don Paoli, “from a golden little book which Rosmini composed for the use of his Novices, in which we see described the ideal of the Christian, and of the Religious man, imitating the life of Jesus Christ in the observance of the Evangelical Counsels. The idea is taken from St. Benedict,” and those, like Don Paoli and all others we have known who lived daily and hourly with him,

and this for many years, testify that he lived the life he described.

This book is called the *Manual of the Second Probation*, and forms part of the *Book of Rules* of the Order. At the beginning we read, "These are the twelve instruments of the Spiritual Art, by the use of which day and night the Novices will work out their perfection, viz.: Agreement of Will; Love among the Disciples of Christ; Abasement and Mortification of themselves; Poverty; Chastity; Piety; Self-Abnegation and Obedience; Simplicity; Modesty; Edification; Good Intention; and the Charity of God." We will begin with the first of these, which is the foundation of the rest.

Agreement of Will should be, according to this first of Rosmini's Rules, "perfect and constant in all the brethren, so that being united in the bonds of fraternal charity they may better and more efficaciously give themselves to the service of God and their neighbour." Therefore he would have "each one endeavour to have his will so disposed as to agree with others; and to take in good part with holy discretion whatever they may say or do, so that before examination of reasons on either side they should be disposed to prefer the opinion of others to their own, and should not allow the least self-love to make them less ready to consider what makes for the opinion of others."

Don Paoli tells us that, as it seemed to him, Rosmini sometimes carried this virtue "even a little too far." And again, in another place, he says, "I would observe that if Antonio Rosmini had an observable defect, it was an excessive esteem of persons with whom he was in contact. Being unable, through the limitation of human nature, to see at a glance the amount of *being* imparted to each individual, he was apt to exaggerate in his esteem of men, for fear of not esteeming them

as they deserved. He would often say that by reason of a particular defect in any person, we are not at liberty to pass a judgment on his character as a whole." Thus, it came to pass that Rosmini was in practice an embodiment of his Rule, in his disposition to defer to the judgment of others, when no evident reasons were against it.

There was no proportion between such a man as he was, the Founder and Superior General of his Order, the profound philosopher and theologian, versed also in great knowledge of the world, and with a wonderful insight into human character and any, or all of his companions put together. "Yet," as Don Paoli tells us, "every matter, great or small, he submitted to consultation, and not only did he allow each of us freely to express our opinion, but he took great account of the reasons given. He did not call his Consultors together in order to register a foregone conclusion of his own, but he held his mind in balance until he had heard their judgment. This was clearly seen from the manner in which he weighed the reasons, *pro* and *contra*, and from his delay in coming to a conclusion. He seldom said, 'I have my reasons' without stating them, but whenever charity and prudence did not oblige him to be silent, he gave his reasons with the greatest candour and simplicity."

Such was the esteem in which he held intelligences, far inferior to his own, and the readiness with which he conformed to their judgments, that he was sometimes seen to admit a doubt of some of the propositions in his writings, when any objection was raised to them, and he often accepted amendments which touched only the form, but not the substance, of what he wished to say. He always evidently studied, according to the words of the Rule he has left us, "whenever he could, by an act of

humility, or for the sake of charity, to favour the opinion of others, provided truth was promoted and not compromised." Whenever, however, as the Rule continues, he "could not wholly or in part agree with others, this never in the least degree diminished mutual charity." He had the greatest tolerance for difference of opinion in things open to different judgments, as was seen in the fact that two of his professors and one of his secretaries held opinions on various questions of philosophy and theology very different from his own ; yet he never showed the least coldness to them on this account. They felt they were not less dear to him than the rest, nay, he respected them for their honest difference of opinion. In this he fulfilled perfectly his own Rule, "Let the brethren, although differing on intellectual questions, live none the less united in the closest charity."

"In conversation," says Don Paoli, "no one ever saw in him the slightest movement of temper. He never insisted on his reasons. When he saw they did not produce their effect, he left them to be reflected on. By the modesty of his judgments, the largeness of his heart, the gentleness of his words, the courtesy of his manners, he gained the hearts of all ; he thus made the Religious Family which he governed an image of that multitude of the faithful in Apostolic times, who had one heart and one soul."

This disposition to agree with others made daily conversation with him delightful, so marked was it by a refined courtesy. He was more than all that is so delightful, in the imitation of Christian politeness by the polished gentleman. He used to say, "One must never hurt a man's self-love without necessity. Sacrifice your own self-love on all occasions, even when you are bound to defend the rights of truth."

"I remember," says Don Paoli, "an instance, one

amongst many, which I noted down at the time, showing his marvellous humility in deferring to the judgments of his inferiors. I was then a Novice at Monte Calvario, and he called me to accompany him to Domodossola. As we were on the road, he began to speak of a certain postulant, and asked me my opinion as to his Vocation. I said 'I thought very well of him, owing to his spirit of generosity.' He replied, 'that it seemed to him there were strong reasons of prudence to doubt his succeeding in the Institute. But,' he continued, 'I always fear to depend on my own judgment, and, therefore, we will take counsel of some other person of weight, and as you suggest Don Carlo Rusca, I will take his advice.'¹ This he said with such simplicity and truth that I remember I spontaneously raised my hat in expression of the veneration I felt for a man of such wisdom and light from God, who showed himself so ready to submit to the judgment of one who was his own spiritual son, a youth without experience, ignorant, and a mere novice in the spiritual life, and in general education."

Rosmini's Love for the Disciples of Christ.—The Charity of Rosmini extended to all men, but especially "to those of the household of the Faith." The disciples of Christ ought to be united by a special bond of union, which was to be preserved by agreement of will. This, as we have seen, was based on charity and humility. This is the new Commandment of which Christ speaks—"A new Commandment I give you, that you love one another." This was still more to be the mark of those who lived in the practice of the Evangelical counsels in the Institute of Charity, who ought to feel and exhibit in their converse with one another, as the Rule

¹ This youth was received into the Noviciate, but, as the Father foresaw, he did not persevere.

says, "an exquisite Charity, such as the world knows not."

Rosmini treated all his brethren with this same tender effusion of charity, which evidently came from his heart. It was the same with the roughest of the lay brothers who had never before been beyond their mountain villages, as with the most refined by birth and education. It will be remembered how, on his return from a long visit to Rome, he speaks of the tender emotions of fraternal love with which he embraced his brethren at Monte Calvario. He was at all times accessible to any of the brethren who wished to speak to him, and in the midst of his dictation on the profoundest philosophical themes, or other important occupations, he never showed himself pre-occupied, or unable to throw his whole interest into what they had to say. He encouraged all to write to him freely, and he never left them long without a reply, which showed that he had entered fully into the case put before him, and he gave them always comfort, gentle reproof, or encouragement, as the case might demand. He required, as he laid down in the Rules, that all Superiors should use great gentleness and care with the sick. He himself visited them frequently with the most fatherly kindness, and with all a mother's tender solicitude for their wants. He took special care to see that all did their duty, whether Superior or subjects, and especially that all duties of piety or of intellectual training were attended to thoroughly. So also in regard to the exercises in plain chant, the accurate learning of the ceremonies of Divine worship, the practice of dissertation and preaching, and the conferences on spiritual and theological subjects.

He never exempted himself, however great his occupation, from the hour of conversation in common recreation after dinner and after supper, and from the

visit of a few minutes to the blessed Sacrament after dinner, just before recreation. He composed and established the custom of reciting the beautiful prayer which is said in all our communities, at that time, to ask grace to use well our converse with one another :

O Lord Jesus Christ, who wast pleased to appear on earth and converse with men, to mould the race of men to a heavenly life, grant that we may so honour Thy holy converse with men that we may impress its blessed image on ourselves. Who livest and reignest, God, world without end. Amen.

For the end of recreation, when we again visit the Oratory before the time of silence begins, he composed the following prayer, which is also in daily use :

Suffer us not, O Lord, to be troubled about many things, but shed Thy sweetness abroad in our hearts, so that whilst necessity obliges us to speak, our joy may be still in listening to thee. Amen.

The same fraternal charity which he would have among his own brethren, he would have extended especially to all priests and Religious. It has been mentioned in a former chapter how he received and entertained the Jesuits when they were driven out of Switzerland.

Amongst Religious none were more welcome than the Franciscan Fathers, who, in their journeys to and fro over the Alps, knew they had a cordial welcome to expect, and aid for their journeys, from the Rosminians.

Rosmini's Spirit of Self-abasement.—Rosmini taught that Charity was itself no small reason for self-abasement. To humble oneself is not degrading, but it is rather a high and generous virtue, because it is just to appreciate the merit of others, without exaggerating our own good points ; which last is a thing so natural to self-love, it is therefore good to make abstraction of our own merits, and it is not against truth to put

them out of sight, in order to recognise more impartially those of others. This is one of the many forms of Charity.

But Rosmini had so low a sense of his own good qualities, that he had no difficulty in humbling himself, and putting himself, as it were, out of sight. In his Rule on this point he teaches that "to employ oneself in humble offices is a great help to the practice of humility," hence he was used when at Monte Calvario to take his share in all domestic duties, of sweeping the house, serving in the kitchen and at table, distributing the soup and bread to the poor, and giving them religious instruction.

He taught and practised the duty of never speaking of himself, or saying anything that might turn to his own praise. No one ever heard him speak, even indirectly, as if he were rich or of noble family, and had connections of rank and title. If in his presence any one spoke of his connections, of his rank, riches, learning, or of any other thing that tended to vanity, he would at once, though gently, turn the conversation, with as great modesty as a pure soul turns instinctively from every object dangerous to chastity. It has been observed that he seemed to have a strong repulsion from pronouncing the personal pronoun "I," and whenever in stating his personal opinion even on scientific subjects, he could do so without affectation, he used the word "We." It will be observed in his scientific writings, that whenever he can do so he states his opinion in the words of St. Augustine, St. Thomas, or of some approved theologian, in order, as far as possible, to avoid the appearance of egotism and of any claim to originality.

When the public began to call the Fathers of Charity, Rosminians, he was much annoyed, and wrote to all our houses to beg that we would use our influence

with our friends that he might be spared this pain. But gradually the custom grew up, especially after his death. Fathers of the Institute of Charity, was too long a title, there were so many other Religious or Charitable Institutions that bore the name of Charity, as Padre di Carità, Fratelli di Carità, &c., that although in England we are generally known as "the Fathers of Charity," in Italy, and in Rome itself, we are known (and feel proud that the title has been given us by Providence) as Rosminian Fathers—Padre Rosminiani.

He preached, what this same Rule teaches, that we "ought to hide the gifts of God, and advance in hidden virtue, unless the service of God obliges us to manifest ourselves." Hence it was that he passed the best years of his life hidden in the library of his father's house, or in the retirement of Monte Calvario, and in this "hidden life" he would have remained to the end, if the Providence of God had not called him forth into active service. He never put himself forward, and when he had performed some work to which he was called by a direct request, he instantly sought his retirement again.

He taught in his Rule, that "We must rejoice when any occasions, justly or unjustly, are afforded us of humiliation, for human nature, corrupted as it is, is always seeking, forgetful of God, to elevate itself, often unjustly; and therefore it is good and just that our nature should be humbled, according to the words of our Divine Master: 'He that is greater among you let him be as your servant, for he that exalteth himself shall be humbled, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.'"

"Hence," says Don Paoli, "this servant of God made himself the servant of all. He would have no distinctions reserved for him in the house. Though

Founder and General of the Order, he would have nothing but the common fare, table linen, bed, and clothing, no better than was given to the rest. He would not be called by any title but that of Padre, and to please him we were careful not to give him his title of *Reverendissimo*.

But the greatest proof of his profound humility and love of humiliation was seen when, as has been stated elsewhere, his two books were placed on the Index. It is then his letters showed a certain exultation that he had an occasion given him of humiliation, which he had not sought for, but which came to him by God's direct permission. So also when his works were under examination, he writes that he would be glad if some involuntary error which would do harm to no one, should be found in them, in order that he might have occasion to make an act of public humiliation and obedience. On the first of these occasions he wrote to a friend :—"The Lord has willed that we should be humbled ; this too was necessary for the advancement of the Kingdom of God, and since we seek nothing else but this, let us rejoice."

"One day," says Don Paoli, "he was walking with Father Molinari and another, along the margin of the Lago Maggiore, when a beggar asked him for an alms. The Father instantly gave him what the others thought a very handsome alms, not so, the beggar, who began to grumble and use very abusive language ; the Father kept perfectly silent, and when he had arrived at the door of the College, asked the man in the mildest tone if he had said all he had to say. Then on entering the house, he told the lay brother to give the poor man a good meal."

Rosmini's Spirit of Mortification.—After what has been already said of Rosmini's interior and ex-

terior life, it is needless to say more in proof of his spirit of mortification. A life of perpetual self-command is the result and the continual observance of interior mortification. His exterior mortifications were the ordinary ones of the discipline and catenella, which he used with moderation and constancy, according to the rules he had laid down for himself. His spirit of indifference as to food has also been noted. He took only what was necessary for the body. He set forth, however, in his life, what he lays down in his Rule, that "the mode of living in his Institute was to be the ordinary common life, with no special fasts or mortification by rule; and this, in order that the brethren might be in a condition of health to undertake any works of charity that Divine Providence might present to them. They were to consider that their chief mortification was to be that of the will, in conforming themselves to the will of others, and in accepting with gladness whatever inconveniences, crosses, and humiliations might come to them in their state devoted to charity."

Such was the daily life of Rosmini, which is thus described by a certain Doctor in theology, who resided for a year or more with Rosmini at Stresa. "He was always the same, never showing any melancholy or depression of soul, always cheerful and never pre-occupied, always kind and ready to receive any one who sought an audience or came to him for some permission, counsel, or other purpose; residing with him it was impossible not to be impressed with esteem and veneration."

His daily and hourly mortification was, never to give way to the movements of his *subjectivity*, but always to act with reflection for the *objective* good—justice, the Will of God; and "whatever his hand found to do, to do it with all his heart."

Rosmini's Spirit of Poverty.—"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "Poverty and charity," says our Rule, "supply great and continual occasions of mortification, and render a man better equipped for the exercise of Universal Charity." In the exercises of the school of self-mastery, Rosmini never considered himself more than a scholar, the daily practice of Evangelical poverty held a chief place; and in this his rule was, the exact observance of the common life of his Religious.

As has been said when speaking of this matter under other heads, Rosmini had established, and it was at last accepted at Rome, that the Institute could have no property in common, but each one of its members was to have a maintenance sufficient to support him at a common table; those who had an income of their own retained the legal proprietorship, but placed their income in the hands of Superiors for their disposal, and in the first instance for the support of those who had no means of their own.

Rosmini's property has been exaggerated. However, among the nobles of the Tyrol, where none are opulent, as fortunes are counted in England and America and in some Continental countries, Rosmini's fortune was certainly considerable. People judged of his riches from seeing how splendidly he spent in charity, in buildings, in the support of institutions, but especially in the maintenance of so many of his brethren, who, like St. Peter and the rest, had little but their goodwill to contribute to the good of the Community. But the strictness of Rosmini's personal effective poverty was little known. Literally, as our Rule says, "his living was like that of poor men;" not a penury which might weaken the health for works of charity, but a poverty like that of the artisan who lives by his labour, the

poverty in which our Lord lived in the Holy House of Nazareth.

But man easily deceives himself, and thinks he wills effectively what he sees he ought to will, and would theoretically wish to will. These illusions may often deceive even spiritual men, who, as St. James warns us, may be like those who have seen themselves, as it were, in a glass—*i.e.*, the theoretical image of themselves—"and then go away and forget what manner of man their real self is." Therefore Rosmini recommends in his Rule what he practised, "to rejoice whenever any occasion arose of suffering effective poverty and a real want of things necessary for comfort, that so we may the better sympathise with the poor who suffer often, as Christ Himself willed to suffer for our example real want of the necessities of life, as He says, 'pauper sum ego et contemptus abjectio hominum'—'I am poor, despised, and abject.'" In order to this he made no provision for himself; he left everything to be provided for him. He had no sitting-room or study, but the room in which he wrote all his works also contained his bed. This was of the commonest description, without curtains, like a bed in an hospital of the poor. His room contained a desk of unpainted wood, two plain wooden chairs and a kneeling-stool, over which there was a common crucifix, a picture of the Mater Dolorosa, and a common earthen holy-water vessel.

He kept in his room no change of habit, but only his cloak. He wore the same cassock summer and winter; only in cold weather he wore more underclothing, with a zimara over his cassock. These, like the rest of his garments, were of common rough cloth of the country. So careful, however, was he of his clothing, which was always clean and neat, and well mended by the lay brother who attended to him, that, wonderful to say, on

his death in 1855, when the sculptor Vela was making the model for that beautiful kneeling statue which is over his tomb in the Church at Stresa, Rosmini's mantle was lent him which he had used every winter for five and twenty years.

When he went to visit the Signora Madre at Rovereto, she took particular pains to provide him with necessary under garments, which she thought he needed, charging his lay brother to keep them carefully for his use. But always on his return the lay brother got a scolding from the Contessa, because he had neglected her orders, for the things all went into the Community stock. In fact, Rosmini had given strict orders to his lay brother that he should not allow anything whatever to be set apart for his own private use. Monsignor Rizzoli, Superior-General of the Congregation of the Most Precious Blood, writes :—

I was a student then (when Rosmini was at Trent), and I well remember how amiable he was, and how simple in all his ways. I remember well the poverty of his dress, and in particular his hat, which was of the coarse woolly description, such as few of the poorest priests of the Trentino would have worn. When I considered the nobility of his birth and his large fortune, I felt that his detachment from worldly things was truly heroic, and also that of his Institute, which he had founded in the true spirit of Evangelical Poverty.

Don Giambaptista Frigo writes that

The life of the Fathers of the Institute at Trent, and especially that of its Founder, Rosmini, was the edification of all. It was said that he took his week regularly with the rest in the service of the house and in the kitchen, wearing the wooden shoes of a peasant in cleaning mats, sweeping the yards, and the like.

When he had to travel, after the railways had begun in Italy, he said to Carli, his lay brother, "We must not go first class, for the second is good enough for us ; and

we must not go third class, because that might make people talk."

Once on a journey from Milan to Rovereto, Carli had left behind at the Hotel a portfolio of MS. which had been given into his charge. It contained also the passport and a bank note for several thousand lire. When he discovered this loss, poor Carli was in great tribulation, and wanted to return immediately, on foot, to Brescia, but Rosmini was quite quiet under it, regretting most the loss of his passport, which might make it impossible for him to enter Austria, so as to arrive at Rovereto at the time appointed for a Retreat he was going thither to give to the Clergy. He contented himself when he got to the end of his journey, with writing to the head of the Police, giving notice of his loss, and in due time the portfolio and its contents came to hand.

Once, walking up the hill at Stresa, he picked up a piece of charcoal, dropped by accident by the man who supplied the College; having picked it up, he carried it to the house, telling the porter to put it in its place, saying, "Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." This sentence, which he was very fond of, is expressed in our Rule, which reminds us that "all things in our houses belong to our Lord, and are sacred to His service; everything must therefore be treated with reverence, and nothing must be wasted."

Yet with all this, when he had to entertain persons of distinction, Bishops and other Ecclesiastics, he showed an elegant hospitality in all the appointments of the table, using fine linen, plate, and china, which was reserved for strangers, though, when he dined in the community, he used a wooden or tin spoon, and the coarse napkins and table-cloths which are used by the poor in Italy.

Rosmini's Spirit of Chastity.—Our Rule says, "In all

that regards the virtue of chastity but few words are needed." It need not be said that one so enlightened as Rosmini, who had dwelt by faith continually from earliest childhood in the brightness of the Divine Presence, was in soul pure as crystal. "Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God."

To look upon his face, to mark the purity of his expression, the virginal modesty, the bright and gentle glance of his eye, was to feel that we were in the presence of one of those of whom it could be said, "These are they that follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth, for they are Virgins."

Rosmini's Spirit of Piety.—The characteristic of his piety was, as is expressed in our Rule, "devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, for Christ has said, As the loving Father hath sent Me and I live by the Father, even so He that eateth Me the same shall live by Me. From this inexhaustible fountain proceeds at once union with Christ, the greatest charity between brethren, and the practice of never ceasing prayer; as it was said of the first disciples, they continued daily in the temple, and in the Breaking of the Bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people."

The celebration of the Holy Mass and the recitation of the Divine Office were the first and most substantial food of his soul. He never omitted to say Mass unless when seriously ill, every day of his life of Priesthood, even on journeys and with great inconvenience and fatigue. He felt that he had a duty to perform, a debt due to the whole Church; to the living and for the dead, for the honour of God and His Saints. His feeling was that as nothing that he could do could compensate for the loss of a single Mass, so it was his first duty to offer up

this Divine Sacrifice, unless prevented by some grave hindrance. Father Serafino Calvi, a Capuchin Friar, writes :—

When I have seen him in his most devout celebration of Mass, and afterwards in the Sacristy making his thanksgiving, wholly concentrated within, his eyes closed, his face pale like wax, in profound meditation, one would have said he was in ecstasy, so absorbed was he in God. In the lines of that grand countenance there was a mixture of humility, of confidence, of love, and filial child-like veneration towards that great God whom he held within his bosom, so entranced was he that he seemed as if he felt and heard nothing of the outer world, but God only.

“In reciting the Breviary,” says Don Paoli, “every one was apt to be too fast for him. He knew it nearly all by heart. He generally recited it walking up and down with a companion, and with a movement of body which kept time with his voice, so that it seemed, as some have observed, as if he were joining in a sacred song and spiritual dance with the Saints in heaven. *Adagio, adagio*, he would say, and yet we were not going fast. But from the first days of his Ordination, he had accustomed himself to make the recitation of the Divine Office a continual meditation and contemplation; this came from the habit he practised, and so strongly recommended, of attending with the understanding to the meaning of every word in making vocal prayer.”

He generally said Mass in a private Oratory, where he could allow himself long pauses at the most sacred parts without causing inconvenience to others. Father Molinari, who, when a Cleric, used to serve his Mass at Monte Calvario, relates that when he folded up his Alb and Amice after Mass, he used to find them frequently damp in the coldest weather in those Alpine regions, owing to the extraordinary fervour of spirit with which he offered the Divine Sacrifice. One day,

he says, the Father told him that he had learned more in that half hour of the Holy Sacrifice than in ten years of study. Although he made his examinations of conscience twice every day, and always made one hour's meditation before Mass, he made also a special act of preparation in the Sacristy before vesting, and a long thanksgiving afterwards. In fact he never spent less than between four and five hours a day in vocal and mental prayer, and this was not interrupted even on journeys. To this must be added that it was his practice immediately after his Mass to read on his knees a portion of Holy Scripture, beginning from Genesis and coming in regular order to the end of the Apocalypse.

Besides this, he always had in private reading some ascetic book, or *Life of a Saint*. The last *Life* he had in hand was that of St. Theresa; it was on his *prie dieu* when he died.

He made the regular practice of meditation and the regular preparation of the morning's meditation over night, a point of strict observance, in himself and with all his Brethren. He used to assemble the Community of his own House every evening after the Rosary in his cell, and after reading a few verses of the Gospel, he commented on them briefly, proposing three points for meditation for the morrow. I remember, when staying with him in 1854, this practice—Rosmini's grand figure, half-a-dozen disciples round their great master, all dimly seen by the light of his shaded lamp. The meditation was given in the most simple way possible. I did not then know enough Italian to be able to follow more than the general drift, but the scene was enough to impress me with a life-long conviction of the importance of daily meditation, and of the great advantage, as a general rule, of regular preparation for it over night.

Before the Rosary, which from childhood he had been accustomed to recite kneeling, and without any support, he always said, and it has become a custom in the Order, "Let us recite this Rosary to ask for the kingdom of God and His justice." After the Rosary he established the custom, which we still observe, of saying a Pater and Ave for each of the following nine Intentions:—1st. For our Holy Father the Pope and the wants of the universal Church, and that God would send labourers into His Harvest; 2nd. For the Institute of Charity and all Religious Orders; 3rd. For our own and all other Civil Governments; 4th. For the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese; 5th. For our parents, friends, and benefactors; 6th. For those who are recommended to our prayers; 7th. For our enemies and persecutors; 8th. For the conversion of infidels, heretics, and sinners; 9th. For the sick, the tempted, the afflicted, and the dying. After this he recited the *Salve Regina*, "for our own particular necessities," and lastly the *De Profundis*, "for the Holy Souls in Purgatory." If any one through inadvertence changed the order of these *Intentions*, he would tell them of it, saying the order ought to be diligently observed, because it was not arbitrary, but fell in with the relative order of ideas, and of the beingness of things, or the greater or less excellence, greatness, and universality of the objects prayed for. Besides this, he had his various private ejaculatory prayers, and Brother Paolo Zamboni, who for a time had the office of *svegliatore*, i.e., the Brother who calls all the rest up with the salutation *Benedicamus Domino*, attests that as soon as Rosmini had answered *Deo gratias* he always began immediately to recite aloud the *Credo*. In this we cannot fail to see, not only the pious Priest who turned to God the first thought and affection of the day, but also the humble Philosopher,

submitting his understanding to the obedience of Faith, and thus turning with the first light of day to "the true Light that enlighteneth every man coming into the world," that he might be guided in all he wrote by no false lights, but by the "Light of Truth" alone.

Every year Rosmini made "a Spiritual Retreat of ten days" according to our Rule. During this time he laid aside every other care, spending the whole time alone, in meditation, vocal and mental prayer, and examination of conscience. In 1849 when he was in Rome, he made his annual Retreat with the Passionist Fathers of Saints John and Paul on the Celian Hill, in the midst of the political excitement below in the city. He was the first among us to make the "Month's Retreat" which the Rule lays down for those who make their "third Probation" or year of retirement, after many years spent in external duties as Religious. He has left the Rules for making this Retreat with profit in his *Manuale dello Esercitatore*, a Golden hand-book, which forms the basis of all the Retreats and Missions given by the Fathers of the Order. The substance of it is the *Exercises of St. Ignatius*, but with certain developments which are his own.

"But, besides this," says Don Paoli, "his mind was in continual prayer, because the actual presence of God had become an habitual, and, as it were, necessary part of his consciousness from his earliest youth. His every study and his every thought was turned to God. God was the immediate Object of his studies; and he saw all other objects and reflected on them, in the light that came from God, and every study that he made was in order to know God better, and to make better known to men the 'God of his heart.' His every act and all his affections began from God and ended in Him,

Adoration and love of God and universal charity to man, moved him to esteem the goods of God that were in men, and to desire for them all those goods that he saw were wanting to them."

"These assertions," says Don Paoli, "are approved by my conscience, from the knowledge I had of Rosmini during a course of five-and-twenty years, and from the no slight familiarity which, as his secretary, he permitted me to have with him. During this time, in my daily intercourse with him, there were occasions without number in which the soul of Antonio Rosmini showed itself, as full of the Spirit of God and of prayer as I have said ; and all others, and they are many, who had the same opportunities of knowing him as myself, attest that my words express their own convictions."

But the five hundred and forty letters of Rosmini, published in the two volumes of the *Epistolario*, are a speaking picture of his soul. Still more, the *Supernatural Anthropology*, and the *Commentary on the first Verses of St. John's Gospel*, which have been lately published in Italian, and are nearly ready for the press in English, attest a soul "hidden with Christ in God."

His devotion to the Blessed Virgin was the pure and simple love for the Madonna of an Italian peasant child, grown up into the profounder knowledge, but not less simple faith and piety, of the Theologian and Christian Philosopher. His *Commentary on the Magnificat* is a proof of this. It was written amidst his anxieties for Church and State, at Gaëta, where his diplomatic career terminated with the public humiliation of having his two political works placed on the Index, where, instead of the *purple robe* of the Cardinalate, he received the "*purple robe*" of derision.

Rosmini's particular devotion to the Saints reigning

with Christ, and to the Holy Angels our protectors, was shown especially by the fact that each day, when he began to write or dictate his philosophical treatises, the first thing he did was to mark the date on the margin of his manuscript, by the name of the Saint whose festival it was, and whom he took as his Patron for the day. He had also a most tender devotion for the Holy Souls in Purgatory, and generally on every feria or festival less than a *Double*, he chose the Black Vestments of the *Mass of Requiem*. The custom was thus introduced among us of always saying mass in black on those days. He was no less observant in performing all the conditions required for the gaining of Indulgences, especially applying them in suffrage for the dead.

It was this same intimate consciousness of the Presence of God in persons, that made him so full of veneration for Episcopal authority, and for the person, not of Bishops only, but also of Priests, and of all Baptised souls, especially those in whom he recognised the State of Grace; and as he could not judge infallibly of the state of a soul, his humility and sense of justice led him, with great simplicity, to have such respect for others, whatever their position in life, that he followed literally the counsel of the Apostle, "Let each esteem others better than himself," and again, "In honour preferring one another."

In Holy Water and other Sacramentals he had great faith. One could see this by the way he made the sign of the Cross in taking the Holy Water, or in giving the Blessing, whenever he was asked to do so. It was always a reflected act of Religion, and he discouraged the use of sacred things of this kind, with either superstition or want of thought, because they were things giving grace *ex opere operantis*—namely, in proportion

as they are reflected personal acts, and not material performances.

He had a very special devotion to the Passion of Christ, and to the Sorrows of Mary. He established the Devotion of the seven Blood-sheddings of our Lord, and of the seven sorrows of Mary, as the special office of the Sisters of Providence. His Church at Calvario was dedicated to the Crucifixion, so was the one he restored at Trent, and the one he built at Stresa, and he died on the Feast of the Precious Blood of Christ Crucified.

"Some," says Don Paoli, "may say, So many prayers! and we have heard wise men and friends say, 'would it not have been better if Rosmini had spent some of this time in writing and in other enduring works for the good of mankind?' We answer, and we believe we say truth, if he had prayed less, he would have done and written less, and less well."

Rosmini's self-abnegation and obedience.—"Denial of our own will is a characteristic," says our Rule, "of the true disciple of Christ, Who says, 'If any one will come after Me, let him deny himself, take up his cross and follow Me.' This is done by perfect conscientious obedience, which ought not to be difficult to those who have to agree with the will of others, and behold in their superior and companions, disciples of Christ, who think basely of themselves, live mortified, poor, and chaste, and know that they are paying obedience, not to man but to God, when they pay it to those who are invested with legitimate authority. Such as these will not consider the person of him they obey, and will be equally prompt in submitting to one inferior, as to one superior to themselves, when this can be done without offending any duty, and for the advancement of charity." So did Rosmini teach, so did he act.

Of his obedience to the Pope as Vicar of Christ, mention has already been made in several heroic instances, which need not be here repeated. But it has not been mentioned that when his works were to be examined he scrupulously sent to the Sacred Congregation of the Index every line he had ever published. As he had given the most unqualified submission to the sentence prohibiting his two small works or rather pamphlets, so he rejoiced indeed when the sentence appeared which, after four years' examination, absolved his other works from every censure. But he gave a grand proof of submission in this, that he never sought for the publication of the sentence, which he knew to contain a high encomium of his person, his writings, and his Order. It was sufficient for him to know that his works were dismissed by the Holy See free from all suspicion, and at the same time that the Holy See had not thought proper to publish the Decree in full—in fact, it was not published until twenty years after his death, as will be shown in another chapter, which speaks of that part of the history.

Whenever he went to Rome it was, as has been said, through a distinct call of duty. His Diplomatic Mission was an act of obedience to the King of Piedmont, where he resided by permission of his Emperor, as was required by the law of his native country. He accepted the Cardinalate unwillingly, but in obedience to the Pope, and by his distinct command prepared all that was necessary, at great expense, for that high office. The Pope's mind came to be changed; he did not wish to make him Cardinal, in the altered circumstances after the Roman Revolution, and the return to another policy; and Rosmini gladly obeyed. He refused to be made Secretary of State, though he knew the Pope had long intended this, but when the offer came, he knew the

Pope was not free, for he was a prisoner in his Palace, and, therefore, with permission of the Pope, he respectfully refused the office. He followed the Pope to Gaëta through obedience; he left the Pope at Gaëta at the Pope's suggestion. In the same way he acted with Bishops. When they asked his aid, and wished to establish the Institute at Rovereto, at Trent, or Verona, he at once spared neither himself, his money, nor his subjects; but when it turned out that they had changed their mind, owing to the influence of the Government of Austria, he quietly retired, in obedience to the Episcopal desire, and in order not to involve them in anxieties; he asked nothing for the expenses incurred, but nobly gave all for the benefit of the Dioceses where he had laboured.

In a word, "he was obedient to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." To his parents, as a child and youth, with a perfection like only to the obedience of Christ, whose life of thirty years is comprised in three words, "Erat subditus illis," "He was subject to them." He waited for their consent that he might embrace the ecclesiastical state. He paid to his master in Philosophy special honour, dedicating his first great work to him; and his old tutor was treated by him with particular respect. He always spoke of him as *Signor Maestro*, and gave him apartments in the Palace at Rovereto so long as he lived. When he began the Institute he placed himself under obedience to Father Löwenbrück, his first companion, who afterwards left him; he wished him to have been chosen Superior of the house, and only accepted that office himself, when he was chosen by the others, and this provisionally only, until he came to be named General by the Pope himself.

In his daily life, his every action was directed by

obedience. Every employment had its appointed time, set down in his Horary, which he submitted for the approval of his Admonitor or Confessor. He was most punctual in changing his employment at the appointed time, or leaving anything he was doing, however engrossing, when the bell rang for some public duty of the house, or if any one asked to see him in the parlour. He depended on the cook for his food, the wardrobe keeper for his clothing, for his writing on his amanuensis at the appointed times, as much as if he had been any simple brother who had no authority in the house; and whenever he wanted anything he asked for it, and on receiving it, expressed his thanks, as simply as if he had no right to command. Though the master of all, he was, as it were, "the servant of all." Even when he had an order to give, it was never given in a tone of command, but always, "It would be well if you were to do this or that." His subjects learned in their turn to obey the slightest indication of his will, as if it were a command. Even in giving correction he almost always led the brother who was in fault to blame himself, rather than inflict direct correction, and in this he succeeded, where harsh words would perhaps have done more harm than good. In a word, conversation with him was a continual lesson in the school of Jesus Christ: "Learn of Me, for I am meek and humble of heart, and you shall find rest for your souls; My yoke is easy and My burden is light."

On Rosmini's Virtue of Simplicity.—"Duplicity of heart," says Rosmini in our Rule, "is a subtle enemy capable of miserably undoing the whole man, unless it be swiftly discovered and eradicated, by the most vigilant watchfulness of the mind and heart. It must therefore be avoided as a most hateful pest by the spiritual man, whether he is dealing with superiors

or with equals. He that shall have perfectly destroyed this odious vice, abominable to God and man, will have his heart right, and will make great progress in virtue. What would it avail to have offered to the worship of God, our will by obedience, riches by poverty, pleasures by continence, if these things were not offered up in simplicity of heart, and with that spiritual joy which comes from simplicity, and unless we can say with David, 'I know, O my God, that Thou provest hearts and lovest simplicity, therefore all those things in the simplicity of my heart I have offered to Thee.' Great was the virtue of simplicity in Rosmini, and he would have all his brethren to have a like simplicity, whether treating with others or with themselves.

He had the simplicity of a child, there was so thorough a genuineness in all he said, but his consideration for others, his great tact and delicacy, never allowed him to say anything that might hurt another's feelings.

He was naturally inclined to think too well of every one, and if it had not been for his great power of self-restraint, of never acting on impulse, and his unerring penetration when he had had time to reflect, he might easily have been deceived. People about him thought him too simple, and Carli, his lay-brother, who was with him in Rome, having heard that the Pope meant to make him a Cardinal, like the honest, blunt Tyrolese mountaineer that he was, said to him frankly, "You are not the man, *Padre mio*, for a Cardinal, you are too simple; I shall go to the Pope and tell him so." And, in fact, Rosmini heard that he had actually asked for an audience, and being known as Rosmini's confidential attendant, had obtained it. The Father only said to Carli, with a smile, "Why, I did not think it was in you to do it."

Rosmini's humility and charity made him, as has been said, a little too ready to believe the best of every one. But he had that great power of silence—of suspending decision and action, and this often for a long time, until by reflection he had analysed the case in all its bearings, so that he was never actually deceived; because he made it a rule of conscience to make his first judgments *provisionally* only. This, he says in several of his letters, is a strict duty of justice, and that "all our false judgments arise from short-sightedness and haste; that we do not take time to make an accurate judgment, and make our hasty judgments without sufficient light." It is the nature of the human mind to get at truth gradually and by reflection. We cannot see all the sides of a case at once, and it is a sin against justice to form anything but a *provisional* judgment at first, or to act upon a provisional judgment, unless it be a case in which we are bound to act on the instant, and have, therefore, to choose what on the whole seems most probable. It was this practical principle of reflection, which had become a part of his moral being, that saved Rosmini from being ever deceived in important matters.

To some he seemed, as has been said, too simple and guileless, to others, wanting in decision or variable in his judgment, being, as it seemed, on the point of acting one way, and in the event taking a different course. What has been said on his principle of the *provisional judgment* is the key to this apparent inconsistency. That he was not wanting in decision of character is clear, from the energy with which he acted the instant he saw clearly the bearing of a case, and that to act or to abstain from action was the Will of God. Then his tenacity of purpose and gift of perseverance were conspicuous.

Don Paoli says, in his appreciation of the candour and simplicity of Rosmini's character—

His mind was always occupied in seeking for the truth ; always rejoiced in its contemplation when found ; but so deeply persuaded was he of the limitations of human reason, which are apt to veil parts of the truth from us, that he was always open to receive truth discovered by others. His mind was therefore most receptive of impressions ; and having an intense love of truth, he showed the impressions made on him, though he reserved, as we have said, his judgment upon them. This gave him that character of unaffected simplicity which so clothed his soul, that those who met him for the first time and did not know who he was, thought him an excellent and simple Abate, a thorough gentleman, indeed, of good education, but did not suppose they had been speaking with the profound philosopher and master in the spiritual life, whom they knew by fame as "the great Rosmini."

Rosmini's Virtue of Modesty.—"Simplicity of heart," as Rosmini taught in his Rule, "produces that joyful and gentle modesty recommended by the Apostle. 'Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice. Let your modesty be known to all men. The Lord is near.'" So did he show in all his life, as the Rule continues, "with all persons in every place, and in every movement, act, and word ; in walking, standing, or sitting ; in the expression of the countenance, in the whole person, and in the dress, there should be nothing that could cause annoyance to others, or useless gloom. All should indicate a holy gravity and propriety, a manly reasonableness, respect for others, and amiability, in the Lord."

This gentle modesty and refinement was in part a gift of nature, and the result of a cultivated education, but it was also the deliberate expression of his soul. Some one, observing on a certain exaggeration of compliment in letters : "Onoratissimo Signore," "Most honourable sir," "Your most humble and most devoted servant," and the like, Rosmini replied : "Well, but I really mean what I say."

He was, as his Rule says, "prompt in listening to what others have to say," and Don Paoli observes, "This I can say frankly, that, long as I resided with him, and heard him converse with all sorts of persons, learned and ignorant, but all inferior to himself, I never heard him say anything like, 'Be silent, what do you know about the matter?' 'Let me finish,' 'You have not attended to what I was saying.' On the contrary, he always paid the greatest attention to what others had to say; stopped in the middle of what he was saying, to listen even to untimely interruptions, then re-stated his proposition, so as to answer the other's remark, and so continued the thread of his observations. He also had a wonderful way of giving a short *resumé* of all that had been said, even in a general and animated conversation, so as to take in all that had been said, and reply to each observation in a few short sentences, so that every one felt that the case had been 'thrashed out,' exhausted, so that, as the Rule continues, 'let your replies be well thought out,' was thoroughly fulfilled in conversation with him."

When anyone failed to see a point, he never humbled him before others, but led him by an easier road to fix his mind on the point in question; or if this failed, and the matter was important, he would take an opportunity of bringing him to see where he had failed, in private conversation, so that self-love might be no hindrance to his admitting himself to have been wrong. He used to say, "Hurt no man's self-love unnecessarily."

The illustrious Professor Paganini, of the University of Padua, one of the most profound students of Rosmini's works, and of his character, has written under his portrait, well chosen words, "Where shall we find virtue more pure, a harmony of soul more lovely in every

relation of life, a sacrifice more complete of self, and of all he possessed, to the honour of God and the good of his neighbour?"

Rosmini's Virtue of Edification.—It is modesty which is, as it were, the garment through which the soul is seen in all its due proportions, so that the virtues of the soul are felt by others; for modesty means *exterior* grace, harmony, beauty arising from the *interior* grace, harmony, and beauty of spirit. Neither modesty nor moderation, *modestia*, fully express; or the "*modus in rebus*," which we have tried to put into words. The result of this unstudied expression of the human personality which is seen in the harmony of its moral unity and completeness, is that which gives *Edification*, the less there is of self-consciousness in virtue the greater is the edification. This was the *Virtue of edification in Rosmini*, as may be gathered from all that has been told of him.

I remember a saying of Father Gentili, and doubt not he had heard it from Rosmini, on whose model he had tried to form himself. He said to me once, "Let us never think about giving edification, let us take care not to disedify." Few things are more irritating than to see in really good and holy men, mannerisms which betray self-consciousness and a wish to *edify*. What is commonly called "improving the occasion" is seldom done naturally, the actor betrays himself from behind the mask, and the part is ruined. Exaggerated "custody of eyes," a mincing manner, a sort of tone between the purring of a cat and the cooing of a dove, which seems to say, "how sympathetic we are," are some of the *Arts of Edification*. Edification must be unaffected, artless, the unconscious expression of union with God.

Such was it in Rosmini. The only words that ex-

press it are these of St. Paul to the Colossians, "If you be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Mind the things that are above, not the things that are on the earth. For you are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ shall appear, *Who is your Life*, then you also shall appear with Him in glory. Put on the New man, who is renewed unto knowledge, according to the Image of Him who created him. Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, and beloved, bowels of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, patience, bearing with one another, and forgiving one another; if any have a complaint against another, even as the Lord hath forgiven you, so do you also. But above all these things, have Charity, which is the bond of perfection; and let the peace of Christ rejoice in your hearts wherein you are called, in One Body; and be ye thankful. Let the word of Christ dwell in you abundantly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual canticles, singing in grace in your hearts to God. All whatsoever you do in word or in work, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God even the Father by Him."

Don Paoli says, and I have heard the same from all who were the intimate companions of Rosmini's life, "He edified by the wisdom of his words, the gentleness of his manners, the sanctity of his whole life. His companions in the Institute were edified, seeing in him the living picture of all he taught, the thoroughness with which he did everything; but especially his piety, laboriousness, and charity.

"His patience under illness," says Don Paoli, "was all the more edifying since he never sought for sympathy by complaining of illness. As he was naturally of a very fine constitution, it was long before the malady he

had for years suffered from in secret showed its ravages in his countenance. With wonderful fortitude he suppressed all expression of actual suffering. We only knew when he took to his bed how long he had been a sufferer."

In his last illness he showed the docility of a child to his physicians and infirmarian; he took remedies in which he had little faith, for he was convinced that his illness was, as it proved, beyond remedy.

Nothing, however, edified us so much as his charity to his opponents, who left no art untried for the condemnation of his writings, the destruction of his good fame not sparing even insinuations against his moral character; but indeed this was little, since they accused him, in every periodical that was under their influence, of being an hypocritical priest, a pretended Christian, but in reality a Pantheist, *i.e.*, a disbeliever in God the Creator, in fact, an Atheist.

He never was heard to complain of these attacks, he made no protests before the authorities who permitted these calumnies, saying only, "The Lord permits it for our good, He knows what are the purposes of His will." He was, however, intolerant of any expressions against charity on the part of his subjects, of murmuring against superiors, or at one another, or at those who injured us.

It was in the May of 1850 that he put forth the following circular to all the brethren of the Order. It was partly to correct faults of grumbling and backbiting, and criticising the arrangements of Superiors and the conduct of one another, partly also to strike at the root of evil speaking against adversaries:

To my most beloved in Christ, the Brethren of the Institute of Charity. Wishing to all the spirit of self-abnegation and love. I admonish you all, one by one, to abstain from every kind of evil

speaking against your neighbours, but above all against Superiors. I admonish each brother, in particular, that if he finds any brother complaining or speaking against Superiors, he has hereby authority to give that brother fraternal admonition, and if the brother shall fall again into the same fault, he must correct him the second and the third time, after which every brother is placed under an obligation to tell this defect to the Superior, who, if the fault is made clear, shall impose on him a sensible penance. If, however, he is not yet corrected, the General must be informed, for St Paul says, "Evil speakers shall not possess the kingdom of heaven," and such when found incorrigible, are unworthy to remain in the Institute of Charity, which ought to be an image on earth of the Kingdom of God in Heaven, and which is itself a Kingdom of God."

Rosmini's Good Intention and Charity to God.—Charity to God and the intention of doing all for Him is the *form* and end of all Christian Virtue. Hence this *Intention* is called *Good*, because it is this which gives supernatural moral goodness to actions.

Rosmini taught that Justice, or the recognition of the value of each thing, and the love, therefore, of the beauty of moral action, lie at the root of all virtue, for even God loves that which is good, because it is good, because it is conformed to truth, the beingness of things, and to His own Being, the essential Beauty, and Truth, and Good. All this enters into that good intention which is the essence of moral action. So also, that an action be good for us must always be included in human motives, but much more ought the moral goodness of an action and its conformity with the all perfect Will of God, be included, and is that which constitutes the supernatural excellence of every moral action. Justice is what we ought to seek, happiness we shall receive as our reward. "Seek ye first of all the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all other things shall be added unto you."

Rosmini's aim, therefore, was to rise himself, and to

lead others to rise, to the highest and most perfect motives, and he had constantly before him the promise of beatitude to those who follow justice. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall be filled."

To see how his was a real hunger and thirst after Justice, we will take some extracts from his private Diary, beginning with 1832, when he was at Monte Calvario, laying down the first stones of the Institute of Charity. He writes:—

"Father, as Thy Son would pray in me, so I would pray in Thee. O Father, give me all things ; give me good. I am created for good ; give me good.

He asks not one or another good, but asks for all good ; and in willing it, conscious as he was of human limitation and infirmity, he continues :

Give me force, O my God ; through Thy Divine Son crucified for me, have pity and mercy on me.

Father, Thou seest the bottom of my soul, make me good. Thou hast created me, Thou canst not deny me, give me all things. Oh my God, I am Thine, give me Thyself ; I wish for nothing else but Thee.

O Heavenly Father, have mercy upon me ! Thou seest what I need. Thou seest it ! Thou seest it ! and Thou canst deny me nothing, because I ask it through Thy Divine Son. My Father, give me what is fitting for me ; give me all things according to the order of good. O Father, if Thou lovest Jesus Christ, save me.

In these words we have the ejaculation of the Hermit of Monte Calvario of Domodossola ; but not less fervent are the ejaculations of the Pastor of Souls of Rovereto in 1835-36 :—

Make me to know Thee, O my God. Communicate Thy Nature to mine, that I may do and will that which Thou lovest. Thou art Good itself. I have no force by which to acquire Thee ; but do Thou communicate Thyself to me. Oh give me Christ, that I may be satisfied in Him. Thou knowest my imperfections, do

Thou apply the remedy. O God ! God ! God ! communicate Thyself to me, and I shall exalt and glorify Thee eternally.

We come next to the time of the approbation of the Institute of Charity in 1839, the time also of the first violent assault of his adversaries, and he continues to cry out to God :

My Father, do not abandon me. O Infinite, I ask of Thee, the Infinite. O my eternal Good ! Make me Thy servant, Lord Jesu, as the Father hath made Thee His Servant. Do Thou rule in me with almighty and absolute command.

Great as is Thy Goodness, so much is what I ask, O Jesu. Oh give me that which Thou knowest I stand in need of. Thy heart demands it for me, O my Jesus. O Father, give me that good that Thy Son knows of. Give to Thy Son, O Father, that He may make of me what He wills.

Grant, O Lord, that I may understand Thy Will with all the good ; that we may understand it together ; that we may find it in Thee ! May our hearts know each other in Thee, O Lord, wherever they may be.

Again we take from the Diary in 1841 :

I ask of Thee, O Father, that which is within the Heart of Jesus. Thou hast given me Thy word, make it efficacious in me and in mine.

Give me, O Father, through Him Whom Thou dost always hear. I ask Thee that I may always be what that Heart wishes me to be. O Lord Jesus, I am a false man, give me to be a truthful man, and that all mine may be Thy servants, as Thou art the Servant of the Father.

Give me Faith in God ! give me faith in God ! All Thy great ones come short of truth.

O Mary, whatever is good before God and Thy Son, ask that for me, for that is good also for me.

Again from 1847 the ejaculations seem to have even a greater elevation in form :

May my heart be Thine, my heart be Thine. Let it be no longer I that is in me, O Father, but Thy Divine Son alone ; annihilate me in myself. Oh God, I live too long ! Kill me, that Thy Divine Son may live through me and in me. O Jesu, my Good, kill me with the fiat of Thy mouth.

The "fiat of the mouth of God" is the Holy Spirit of Truth, and of Sanctity, and hence he adds :

O Truth, grant that the truth may be in me, that it may fulfil its law. Create in me, O Lord, that which Thou wilt. Do Thou do it. O my God, grant that my limitation may never be found in opposition to Thy Infinite Essence.

We arrive now in the Diary at near the term of his mortal life in 1855. His adversaries had again returned to their charges against the purity of his doctrine, notwithstanding the declaration of the Congregation of the Index which dismissed every charge. He prays for them, saying,

O my God, grant that I may be in agreement with all those with whom Thou knowest that they accord with Thee. In agreement in the truth, which some see and others think to see—in agreement not in part but entirely. I ask Thee that which the Heart of Jesus desires, that is what I ask.

Can there be greater proof of the *Good Intention* and *Love of God* than are seen in these breathings of this pure and fervent heart written down in secret during the space of over twenty years ?

This Good Intention is "the eye of the soul," of which our Lord speaks (Matt. vi. 22) : "If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be lightsome ; if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be darksome ; if the light that is in thee be darksome, how great will the darkness be."

It is this simplicity of intention that makes all the difference between the Saint and the ordinary Christian, nay between the saint, who is a temple of God, and the sinner, who is in the grasp of the devil. It is the same thing which is sometimes called "Virginity of soul," that is to say, the state of a soul that is not defiled by union of will with his own inordinate love of self, or *subjectivity*. It is that state of soul which keeps the eye of its intention, as far as possible, consciously fixed on

the *object* of its intelligence, *truth, being, God*. The external works of a man may seem good to others ; his interior acts may seem good to himself, but if the eye of his intention be not fixed on God he may be doing everything for *self*, making self his centre, idolising self. His seeming virtues may be all natural, or not even that ; they may be a subtile worship of self. He may be seeking for nothing but his own subjective satisfaction, to escape remorse of conscience, by avoiding gross sin, he may pass his life in the pleasant delusion of self-satisfaction. He may have no real humility of soul, no real mortification and detachment from creatures, and yet it may seem to himself and others that he is little short of a saint. This is what Rosmini meant, perhaps, when, as it was related to me, he once said, "I do not think a mortal sin of pride is so hard to commit," and concluded, "God only knows what may be the state of my own interior."

So is it that David cries out, "Delicta quis intelligit, who understands sins, from my secret sins deliver me, O Lord ;" and St. Paul says, "I am not conscious to myself of anything, yet am I not thereby justified. He that judgeth me is the Lord." So should our daily, hourly prayer be the ejaculation of St. Francis, "Noverim Te, noverim me, ut amem Te despiciam me"—"Lord I would know Thee, I would know myself, that I may love Thee and despise myself ;" and again "Cupio dissolvi"—"I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ." "I desire to be dissolved" and set free—1st. From my inordinate self-love—my own *subjectivity*. 2nd. From the evil habits that, through this, I have contracted. 3rd. From the temporal punishments in the other life due to them ; if I choose, against my Lord's will, through false love of my own subjectivity, to go to Purgatory. 4th. From the prison of the body in which

I ought to fulfil my penance perfectly, that I may not at death be banished by the justice of God to that prison, from which "I shall not go out till I have paid the uttermost farthing," but may receive the reward we pray for when we say—

Quando corpus morietur
Fac ut animæ donetur
Paradisi gloria. Amen.

PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE.

These prayers are framed on Rosmini's great *principle of justice*, as explained in these chapters. If said slowly, with devout attention to the meaning of each word, they will be found a help to learn and practise the art of Meditation.

RENEW in us, most loving Saviour, whatever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil, or by our own carnal will and frailty. Destroy in us the iniquity of self-love that we may follow after *justice* in all things, and do Thy will on earth as it is in heaven. Give us perfect humility and contrition; perfect charity and zeal for souls; prudence, fortitude, temperance, chastity and self-command. Preserve and continue us to the end in the diligent exercise of all good works, in the unity of Thy Church and of Thy Grace, that falling asleep in a holy and a happy death, we may wake up in Thine everlasting glory, not through our own merits and deservings, for they are nothing, but through Thy merits and mediation, O Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. AMEN.

O LORD JESUS CHRIST, true God and true Man, enlighten, we beseech Thee, and sanctify our understandings; sanctify and strengthen our wills; sanctify our memories; sanctify our imaginations; sanctify our bodies with all their senses; our hearts with all their affections, that with our whole being we may tend to Thee, our first beginning and our last end, our only true and never-ending Good, and may rest eternally in Thee, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost livest and reignest God, world without end. AMEN.

CHAPTER X.

ROSMINI AS PHILOSOPHER.

Let us now retrace our steps awhile to say something of Rosmini as a writer. On his return from his first journey to Rome to his own country and his father's house, when about five-and-twenty years of age, being on the one hand free from other occupations, and on the other largely endowed with abilities and means for prosecuting his studies, he judged that such was at this time his vocation. He therefore applied himself to this object with a laborious assiduity, and a power of intellect which might be called marvellous, embracing in the vast compass of his mind all the branches of human knowledge, literature, exact science, jurisprudence, medicine, politics, metaphysics, and dogmatic and ascetical theology. But convinced that the Christian teacher ought never to pursue his studies without setting before him a well-defined, beneficial, and holy end (for science without charity puffs up instead of edifying), Rosmini fixed from that very time the end to which all his literary and learned labours were to be directed. Like all the truly great intellects which God from time to time has raised up within His Church, such as St. Augustine, Boetius, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura, Rosmini felt the supreme necessity of reuniting divine and human science into one great whole, and reconciling reason with faith, in order to show that the works of God never contradict each other, that grace is easily engrafted upon nature, and that revelation and its

mysteries do not destroy, but direct and exalt the understanding ; that they do not debase man, but only humble him, in order to raise him the more speedily to a height of wisdom which likens him more nearly than ever to the angels and to God.

This undertaking appeared to Rosmini especially indispensable in this age, because for some time past two opposite parties had been labouring to fritter away all science, and to introduce by degrees an absolute divorce between authority and reason, between sacred and profane science, between theology and philosophy ; a divorce, the injurious effects of which on the civil and Christian, no less than on the literary republic, it would be difficult to exaggerate. It may here be allowed to quote the words of Rosmini himself on this subject, in the Preface to his Works.

He (Rosmini) saw plainly the Gospel shining above all human systems, like the sun untouched by the clouds of the atmosphere of earth, and he knew also that heaven and earth shall pass away, but that those words shall not pass away. He knew that the divine Wisdom has no need of any philosophical system for the salvation of men. He is in all respects perfect in Himself. But he knew also that no contradiction can arise between revelation and true philosophy, for truth can never be contrary to truth, being most simple in its origin, and ever consistent with itself. He considered also that philosophy, when it does not deviate from truth, is a help to the mind of man, giving it a natural disposition and a certain remote preparation for faith, the need of which it manifests ; that the errors, the prejudices, the doubts, which arise from the imperfection of reason, and which interpose so many obstacles to the full assent which is due to revealed truth, may, and ought to be solved and dispersed by reason itself ; that the Catholic Church, especially in the last Council of Lateran, invites and excites philosophers to fulfil this office by their studies ; that revealed doctrine cannot be fully expounded in a scientific form without supposing the truths demonstrated by philosophical reasoning, because religion does not destroy but perfects nature, nor does Divine revelation abolish but completes and exalts reason,

and therefore nature and reason are the two postulates, or the two conditions and *prenotions* of the Gospel, and the first foundations upon which the edifice of sacred theology rests.

In the first ages of the Church the Fathers made use of the philosophy of Plato, amended by themselves for this purpose. In the middle ages that of Aristotle was preferred, in like manner amended by the Scholastic doctors and masters. In both these periods the philosophical doctrine held by theologians was universally received and approved. Diversity of opinion did not shake the edifice, because it was confined to a few points, and extended not to the whole body of science ; and the dialectic form, method, and language, remained always in common and unquestioned use. This immeasurably facilitated the study of theology, which arose like a venerable temple, complete in all its parts, and visible in its stability to the eyes of all. In the first ages this science of divine things might be likened to a Greek or Roman temple ; in later times it took as it were a Gothic form, but it was alike perfect and magnificent in each. In the last age, learning, criticism, and classical literature perfected the exposition of theological science, giving it greater clearness, and adding positive and well-ascertained proofs of its doctrines ; but the philosophical system of the Schools, which was supposed to be its natural foundation, being laid aside as out of date, and forgotten, theology lost its regularity of form and its marvellous scientific unity, by which, intimately connected with natural reason and all its noblest speculations, it appeared manifestly as the supernatural complement of human nature, and of human knowledge,—as the last finishing stroke of the Creator to the works of His hand. Man then felt deeply that theology was not a thing apart from himself, and that, although transcending in its origin and substance the boundaries of nature, it was still a continuation of himself, which passed on from the rational to the revealed, as if ascending from a lower to a higher stage of the same mental palace built by the hand of God according to one single design. Christian theology was unquestionably at that period the guide and the guardian of all other sciences, and the mistress of opinions. Who could then have believed that a time would come when men would think it a duty entirely to separate theology from philosophy? And yet this thought did arise ; it arose when there came to be no longer a commonly received system of philosophy, and men despaired of finding another, solid in itself and in all points coherent with religion. But distrust is never either reason or good counsel. If theology abjures philo-

sophy, it must either ignore the deepest questions and leave science imperfect, or if it attempt to deal with them it will fail to solve them, or its solutions will be false or imperfect, and incur the censure of true philosophers, and the mockery of others, to the discredit of the sacred discipline.

From that hour the passions and the base calculation of material interests have become the only counsellors, the only masters of men's minds, which are left open to every prejudice, and ready to give their immediate assent to the most extravagant propositions, or to withhold it from the most plainly demonstrated truths on the slightest casual occurrence. Proud of their subjection to the yoke of the most preposterous opinions, and disdaining on this very account the most reasonable subjection; credulous even to absurdity, incredulous even to evidence; legislators of the whole world, and intolerant of any law; intoxicated with their own judgment, and forgetful of their own duties; enthusiastic philanthropists in word, selfish and treacherous in deed; irreligious, and disgraced by the most shameless licentiousness, they seem to have lost all consciousness of virtue and truth, whose very existence has become to them a problem and a vain chimera.

Any one who knows and estimates rightly the state of human society in our days, will easily feel the urgent need that a man should arise among us, who should be capable of showing clear and unveiled the right and the wrong of adverse parties, and making himself all things to all, become a mighty peace-maker, binding together once more in the concord and union so necessary and so much desired, those two primary and essential branches of human knowledge—theology and philosophy. But this want is so evident that many writers have expressed it. Among the rest might be mentioned the celebrated French historian, Abbé Rohrbacher, who in the fourteenth book of his universal history of the Catholic Church, after noticing that the scope and the object of the writings of the great Boetius, was to bring reason into the closest possible accordance with faith, philosophy with theology, thus continues :—

"May Almighty God raise up a man to finish the work which He inspired Boetius to begin, a man like to him in genius and in virtue, who after his example shall luminously arrange all human sciences, show their accordance with that which is divine, and like him offer to the Church and to the world the perfect model of a true Catholic and a true philosopher."

These words describe the very intention and character of the works of Antonio Rosmini, and we firmly believe him to be the man destined by Providence, at least to co-operate largely, in the fulfilment of this illustrious writer's prayer.

Rosmini then set his hand to the work, and having sketched out at Rovereto a great part of those writings which came to light gradually in later years, the better to carry on his studies and perfect the works already conceived, he transferred his residence to Milan. There, in 1827-28, he collected and published in two volumes various philosophical treatises, most of which had been already separately printed, the chief object of which was to confute the pernicious errors which some writers had imported into Italy. In this publication he sought especially to show forth the wisdom of the ways of Providence in the government of human affairs, explaining at the same time to his readers the end and the method which he had set before him, and which he intended closely to follow. This he did, not fearing to rouse against him the formidable power and furious opposition of the sensistic rationalists, who, to the disgrace of Italy, then held sway in the literary republic of that peninsula. It was about this time that Alessandro Manzoni, having read one of these treatises, without knowing Rosmini either personally or by reputation, said that "heaven had given a great man to Italy and to the Church" in the author of that book. Rosmini coming afterwards, as has been already said, to Rome, in 1828, and remaining there about a year and a half,

was introduced by Cardinal Cappellari to the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VIII., who to great piety and humility joined strong sense and a profound knowledge of the wants of our age. He received Rosmini with the greatest benignity, and conversed with him at great length on the philosophical studies to which he knew him to be devoted, exhorting him earnestly to persevere in the enterprise he had undertaken, as especially useful and necessary in these days for the Church, assuring him expressly that such was his vocation. "The Church," said he, "has a sufficiency of preachers and confessors, but a scarcity of good writers. We want learned ecclesiastics to subdue the world by reason. You should devote yourself to this office far more than to preaching or the confessional."

During his stay in Rome, urged by Cardinal Cappellari, afterwards Gregory XVI., he published the *Nuovo Saggio sull'origine delle idee* in 1830. This book contains the germs of the whole philosophical and moral system which he afterwards developed in his successive works. Thus the roots of that colossal scientific tree were planted in the holy city of Rome, with the approbation of the public censors, under the eye and with the encouragement of the then Pontiff, Pius VIII., and of Gregory XVI., his immediate successor.

On Rosmini's return to the north of Italy, he entrusted to the press of Milan the great task of collecting and publishing in twenty octavo volumes, the works both edited and inedited, which he intended to give to the world. Of each of these works, we know that Rosmini humbly presented a copy to the Sovereign Pontiff, Gregory XVI., as they appeared, so far was he from fearing the eye or the censure of the Holy Apostolic See, and so great was his confidence that the supreme authority of the Church recognized and approved his

intention and pious labours for her good. The Pope thanked him on each occasion, either personally or by letter, continually exhorting him to write and publish, assuring him, like his predecessor, Pius VIII., that this was his vocation, and the Will of God for him. Hence, when he was informed that Rosmini had been constrained by the loving urgency of his fellow-citizens, and the desire of his bishop, to accept the office of arch-priest of the church of St. Mark, at Rovereto, in the October of 1834, the Holy Father expressed his dissatisfaction, and signified to him his express desire that he should occupy himself in writing rather than in other labours. "His Holiness," writes Cardinal Morozzo, Bishop of Novara, "desires that you should continue to employ yourself for the press. Your Lent sermons at Domodossola will be very useful, but the Holy Father is of opinion that you should not employ yourself in preaching," &c. Gregory XVI. kept Rosmini's works in his private library, and often showed them to those who visited him with a certain parental satisfaction, and with commendation of the author. He afterwards set the seal to these honourable testimonies by the magnificent eulogium upon Rosmini, in the Apostolical Letters by which he approved the Institute of Charity on the 20th September 1837, in which he not only calls him "most pious and most Catholic," but speaks of him also as a man of "extraordinary and excellent genius, and eminently renowned for his knowledge of things human and divine."¹

The philosophy of Rosmini is therefore eminently Christian, because it is entirely directed to the removal of the errors which obstruct, and to the defence of the

¹ Cum vero nobis perspectum exploratumque sit dilectum filium presbyterum Antonium Rosmini virum esse excellenti ac præstanti ingenio præditum, rerum divinarum atque humanarum scientia summo opere illustrem, &c.

truths which prepare the way to faith, to the elucidation of the conformity between reason and revelation, and to the demonstration of the Divinity of the doctrines of Christianity.

The *sensistical* systems of Locke, Condillac, Stewart, Hume, and their disciples, had unhappily spread their poison, not only in England, France, and Germany, but in Italy also, where, from the proximity of the light ever flowing from the Vatican, we might have hoped that true philosophy would never fail. For a long time past the doctrine had been taught in certain Italian universities, that man is born into the world wholly *devoid of any ideas*, and that, therefore, all ideas, without any exception, are acquired by means of the senses, *i.e.*, enter by the eyes, the ears, the nose, the palate, and the skin.¹

In this unnatural system of philosophy great numbers had had the misfortune to be brought up.

The Abate Rosmini, with that extraordinary mental acuteness bestowed on him by the Most High, was not slow to perceive, even at a very early age, the fatal consequences which such a system contained within itself, and which, in fact, were not only drawn out in specula-

¹ I remember the late Archbishop Gastaldi, then a Father of Charity in England, saying to me, "In this unnatural system of Sensism, as taught in Catholic Schools, I had the misfortune to be brought up. I remember in the Seminary saying to my professor, an excellent priest, one day after his lecture on philosophy, 'But if all ideas come from the senses only, what basis is there in reason for proving the existence of God? how can we even think of God, or of spirit, or of anything beyond our own body?' His answer was curious. 'Oh, we must not go into the Sacristy!' meaning that a thing might be philosophically false, theologically true." The fact is, Catholics *felt* that they had within their souls the Supernatural light, by which they knew God, and had certitude of His existence. They did not reflect on the state of those who have only reason to go by; in other words, they did not reflect on the *essence* of the light of reason, or on *how they know*.

tive studies, but reduced to practice to the grievous injury of religion, morals, and society.

For if man is born devoid of any idea, he is born devoid of the light of reason. For what can the light of reason be but an idea, nay, the first of all ideas, which serves as a guide in the acquisition and use of all the rest?

But if man is born devoid of the use of reason, then at his birth he is not a man, but some other being, because under the name of man we understand a being endowed with the light of reason; and he becomes a man (upon this system) when he acquires that light.

"But what," asks Rosmini, "shall he do to acquire it if he have not received it from nature? Can he acquire it by his bodily organs? No, because the light of reason being a thing essentially different from all that is corporeal, can never penetrate through any of the bodily senses."

Besides, if man receives no ideas from nature, that is not true which has always been believed by mankind, which is attested by our inward consciousness, and is taught us by the Church,¹ that there exists a *natural law*, which, without the aid of any other teaching or legislator, makes known the distinction between moral good and evil, and imposes on us the obligation of following the one and shunning the other. For how could this law be known by man if he were devoid of any idea whereby to know it?

Again, if all ideas are acquired by means of the senses, the ideas of God, of truth, of justice, of religion, of virtue, of vice, &c., must also be thus acquired; but,

¹ The light of natural reason is defined by St. Augustine as quoted in the Summa of St. Thomas: "*Lex æterna seu Divina est ratio Divinæ Sapientiæ; lex naturalis est participatio Legis Æterni in rationali creatura.*" See note at the end of this chapter, where this quotation is given in full, with a translation.

inasmuch as these and other similar ideas of absolutely incorporeal objects can never enter through the eyes, the ears, nor any other organ of the body, we shall be driven to the conclusion that these ideas have no existence, and that man labours under a deplorable delusion in believing that he possesses them. And this was the very conclusion which the infidels of the last century, especially the followers of Voltaire, drew from the premisses of Locke and Condillac. It was a conclusion, which clothed in a brilliant style, and adorned with all that was most fascinating to the imagination, and most biting and ludicrous in satire, found, as might have been foreseen, an echo in the passions of men, and gave birth to that audacious infidelity, which has long uplifted its impious standard in the midst of even Catholic nations, and attracted to it an immense multitude of heedless or wicked men.

Other philosophers of our time, without deducing consequences of such wide incredulity and scepticism from the absurd doctrines of Locke and his followers, have nevertheless drawn from them conclusions destructive of all morality. The senses, say they, are the sources of all ideas without any exception; here then we must seek the rule of all truth, all justice, all morality, *i.e.*, that is true, just, and moral, which accords with the senses. To follow what pleases the senses, to shun what displeases them, this is the morality of man, whose principal duty is to labour industriously to promote all arts and sciences, in order to multiply the means of increasing the gratification of the senses. This is the philosophy with which Byron, Victor Hugo, Gioja, Romagnosi and others have infected literature and politics; everywhere corrupting the minds of youth, and artfully exciting persecution against the Church of Jesus Christ. It is true indeed that many of the fol-

lowers of Locke and Condillac have not pushed their principles to the fatal consequences we have described ; but it is not the less true that they stopped short of the conclusion, simply because their faith was stronger than their logic ; and that it was in spite of logic that they preserved the truths of Christianity under the profession of a sensististical philosophy. It was because they were good Christians indeed, but bad reasoners, that they were unable to meet the attacks of infidels against the faith, by solid and cogent arguments.

It is true also that a philosophy has now arisen in Germany, chiefly by the agency of Kant, which pretends to maintain the possession of truth by man without making it dependent upon *sensism*. But, however speciously veiled, the German philosophy actually makes truth a *mere* product of the human mind, so that it is man who creates truth, who creates morality, who creates God Himself. It is, in fact, the most impious blasphemy ever yet uttered by Satan.

Rosmini, then, grieved to the heart that this false philosophy, the mother of so much impiety, should, to the destruction of all morality, have struck such deep root in many Catholic Schools, was impelled by his burning zeal for the Church of God, to strive to the utmost of his power to eradicate *Lockism* and *Kantism*, and to recall to life that true philosophy which is contained in the works of the holy Fathers, especially of St. Augustine, St. Anselm, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventura.

He set out from the elementary principle of Christianity, which is confirmed by the tradition of the human race ; *i.e.*, that man has received a *light* from his Creator, which is called the *light* of reason, because by it man reasons ; that this light is *innate*, and that by virtue of it alone he is man. This light can be nothing

else but *truth*, since truth alone can *enlighten* the mind.

Truth is that which is, it is *being* in essence. God, who is truth personally subsisting, said to Moses: "*I am Who Am*:" "say to the children of Israel, *He Who Is* hath sent me to you." Truth, however, seen by man *naturally* is not God Himself; else he would see God, which is contrary to experience, and to the teaching of faith; but it is something which *belongs* to God, and is in Him; it is necessary, absolute, eternal, immutable, unlimited.¹

¹ The *being* which is seen (*intued*) by man is not a part of him, nor a production of his; but altogether independent of man, and infinitely superior to him, it *shines before* his spirit.

It is said to be seen, *intued*, from the Latin verb *intuor*, to see, because it is seen by the human mind in a *direct* manner, and by the agency of the Supreme Author of nature, without the need of any reasoning or judgment on the part of the mind which sees it.

As seen (*intued*) by the human mind—by nature, it is something *which belongs to God* or which *is in God*. The reasons for this assertion are as follows:—

As seen by nature, it is not God Himself, otherwise man would see God by nature, which, as we have seen, would be opposed to the Christian faith, to our internal consciousness, and to the testimony of the whole human race.

And yet, if we consider, *being* as it is manifested to man by nature, we shall see clearly that it is necessary, absolute, eternal, immutable, unlimited, and has an existence wholly independent, not only of the mind of man, but of any conceivable created mind whatever. But that which is necessary, absolute, &c., can only be in God and belong to Him. Is it then any accident of God? No; because in God there are no accidents. Is it a part of the Divine substance? No; for the Divine Substance has no parts, being simply one. What then? It is *essentially* in God; or the Essence of God is such, that *being*, as seen by man naturally, is in Him.

Is it not in fact, the opinion of all philosophers and attested by evidence, that the *essences* of things are *eternal*, *necessary*, and *immutable*?

A triangle can never have more or less than three sides and three angles; so, two and two will always make four; and so, to give to every one his own has always been a duty, and ingratitude always a crime.

Where were these ideas before God had created intelligent minds? Most assuredly in God. Were they accidents? No. Were they substances?

In the natural intuition of truth or *being* consists the image and likeness of his Creator, which is stamped upon the soul of man. For, *being*, seen in all its fullness, is the only object of the mind of God, and *being*, seen in a certain measure, is the only object of the mind of man. It is a light which flows forth from the Word of God Himself, according to the words of the Psalmist, "Signatum est super nos lumen Vultus Tui Domine," "The light of Thy Countenance is signed or stamped upon us," and which, irradiating the mind of man, imparts to it something *divine*. It is eternal, and uniting itself so closely with man as to render the *intuition* of itself an essential element of human nature, it makes him immortal. It is by the intuition of *being* that the human mind is able to expatiate in an unlimited field of knowledge; to embrace in one instant the past, the present, and the future; to abolish distance, and thus to triumph over time and space; from this it derives the marvellous power of invention which is continually developing new wonders, each surpassing that which went before. Lastly, as God is infinitely holy, as he loves *truth* or *being* with an infinite love; so man by loving truth or being, naturally present to him, may imitate the holiness of his Creator.

Having thus asserted on behalf of man the unspeakable dignity to which he has been raised by God in the intuition of *being*, Rosmini observed that *being* is the *foundation of every science and of every art*; and that therefore, in *being*, seen by nature and *scientifically*¹ *known*, consists the encyclopedia of the sciences.

If so we must conclude that God is a circle, a triangle, &c., and all these at once. What conclusion must we draw, so as to avoid falling into absurdities? That they were *essentially* in God. How so? The philosopher can affirm that a thing *is*, and that it *is not*, but not always *how* it is. There are mysteries even in the order of natural truths.

¹ Viz., through a well-conducted *reflection*; for science is the work of *reflection*.

In fact, every science and every art necessarily rests upon that which *is*, never upon that which *is not*. Man cannot take a single step in any art or science whatever, without making use of the light of his reason. That light is one. There is not one light of reason for ideology, another for morals, another for architecture, another for painting, but one and the same light of reason is the rule of all our judgments, and the guide of every discovery in the region of truth, and of every process of reasoning and every conclusion whatsoever. But the light of reason is *being*, intuitively seen by nature. Therefore *being*, shining by a divine gift before the human mind, is the principle, the source, the basis, the guide, the rule of every science and of every art.

It is the principle of *ideology*, because ideology is the science of ideas, and every idea is an object present to our mind, and that only is called an object which *is*; *being*, then, is an essential element of every idea, and *being*, intuitively seen by nature, is the primal idea which implicitly contains all others within it.

Next to ideology comes *logic*, the science which gives the laws of thinking and reasoning, so as to attain truth and avoid error. But truth is that which *is*, error that which *is not*. Therefore, *being*, intuitively seen by the human mind, will be the rule also of this science. The same may be easily shewn with regard to psychology, anthropology, and other sciences, as well as to the two we have instanced.

With regard to *morals*, it is clear that morality consists in the regulation of all the affections and all the actions of men, so that they may never offend against truth, but on the contrary render it due homage. Truth is *being*; therefore, *practically to love and reverence all being* will be the supreme precept of morality. And

indeed, all theologians have agreed in the proposition, that moral good is essentially *positive*, moral evil essentially *negative*. That which is *just* is called *right*; that is just which the moral law protects; that law commands us to give to every being that which is his own; we cannot know that which belongs to each, but by the light of *being*; *being*, then, as the means of ascertaining the rights of each individual being, is the principle of the *science of right* (*del diritto*). The same reasoning may be applied to politics, which is the science of the protection of the rights of all the citizens in a state, and to the other sciences connected with it.

Esthetics also, the science of the beautiful, proceeds from *being*, intuitively seen, and depends upon the rules which belong to it. For if the beautiful be not a thing which has its origin solely in the senses, and which changes according to the taste and the imagination, but a thing which partakes of the absolute, the eternal, the immutable, whence can it derive its laws, except from truth or being?

It thus becomes evident that all sciences and arts have an absolute certainty, because they depend upon *being*, which is not a production of the human mind, but is eternal, necessary, immutable, shining before the mind of man by the appointment of the Author of nature; which in no way depends upon the senses, but having in itself a necessary existence, diffuses light over the senses and their operations.

The certainty and truth of philosophical science being thus established, it is evident that all errors hostile to Christianity, such as *sensism*, both speculative and practical, *idealism*, *materialism*, *pantheism*, *scepticism*, *fatalism*, are refuted; and on the contrary, all the philosophical truths most nearly related to the Christian faith, such as the existence of God, the spirituality,

immortality, liberty, and responsibility of the human soul, morality, and the rest, are maintained against the attacks of false philosophers.

But Rosmini did not rest here. After having shewn what the light of reason *was able to do*, he shewed also what it *could not do*.

He demonstrated that *being*, intuitively seen by nature, is able to lead to the conclusion that God exists; but cannot make God known to us. As Subsisting Being, He communicates Himself to us by Grace, filling our hearts with His holy love, and glorifying us by the enjoyment of His beatific vision. Truth, which, as it is seen by nature, is *of God*, when seen by the light of grace, *is God Himself*. Hence the Divine Word said of Himself, "*I am the Truth*." It is also by Grace alone that the precepts of the moral law can be effectually observed, and that man can attain his true moral dignity.

Hence appears more clearly the necessity of Revelation, and the immense benefit thereby conferred upon mankind. Yet the additional illumination of Revelation does not cause the natural light of reason to relinquish its office. On the contrary, reason lends her services to faith, which treated scientifically, becomes a science. And thus we have Theology, that science which, on account of its supernatural origin, and the infinite excellence of the objects whereof it treats, surpasses all the rest. Even supernatural theology, therefore, is aided by *being* intuitively seen by nature. And as supernatural theology treats of Being, communicated to us by means of faith and grace, it is manifest that *being*, intuitively seen by nature is the foundation of all natural sciences, and Being, communicated to us by grace, is the foundation of all supernatural sciences.

This, then, is the plan of Rosmini's philosophy; a

plan which proves the vastness, the sublimity, and the acuteness of his intellect. And although he did not live to carry it out in all its parts, but left many things unfinished, a careful study of those parts which he was able to complete will furnish the student of philosophy, jurisprudence, politics, social economy, medicine, literature, and theology, with sure rules whereby to attain truth and avoid error, to solve the most difficult questions, and to make incalculable progress in these most noble sciences, to the great benefit of human society, and of the Church of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XI.

A FEW WORDS ON THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF ROSMINI'S PHILOSOPHY.

THE preliminary difficulty in understanding the Rosminian philosophy is that it goes deeper than what are *popularly* assumed to be the first principles of human thought. It undertakes to *account for* ideas. But to many people it has never occurred that there is any difficulty in this matter requiring explanation. They have been used to assume with Locke and others, more or less of the same school, that the formation of ideas is so simple that it does not require to be accounted for. It is assumed to be a simple fact like sensation. They say, "We *have* sensations, and we *have* ideas; the sensations come first, and they are transformed into ideas by the faculty of reflection."

Those who talk thus are not aware that between *sensations* and *ideas* they have jumped a gulph which is not less than *infinite* !

This mental condition reminds me of a conversation once overheard in a railway carriage between two countrymen. "John," said the one, "how about this railway telegraph; how do they send messages by it?" "Oh," said the other, "it is very simple. You see them wires along the line. They runs from Lunnon to York. They are fastened to a thing at each end with a dial plate and hands to it like a clock, with letters all round, and when they turns the hands in Lunnon this 'n and

that 'n, the hands in York goes that 'n and this 'n." "Ah," said the other, "it seems very simple when you have it explained."

Much like this is the state of mind of those who do not see any difficulty in the formation of ideas, and serenely talk, as Locke and his school do, of "sensations being transformed into ideas by means of the faculty of reflection." They ignore the crucial point in philosophy,¹ much like the countryman who explained the electric telegraph, omitting all mention of electricity—that occult and mysterious force which is behind the phenomena.

The fundamental principle of Rosmini's philosophy concerns, as I have said, the origin of ideas—how the *ideas* or *thoughts* of *things* arise in our mind. For, it is certain that whenever that modification of our sensitivity which we term a sensation takes place, we immediately and necessarily think, not of the sensation *within* us, but of a something *outside* of us to which we attribute *existence*, call it a *thing*, and credit it with being the *cause* of our sensations; so that we actually attribute to it the qualities of heat or cold, blackness, whiteness, or the like, which, when we reflect—or think again, we know exist within our own sensitivity only.

This mental process is obviously a *judgment*, in which we predicate the *existence* of a *cause* of our sensation. To say nothing at present of the idea of *cause*; it is clear that we could not apply the predicate of *existence* unless we knew what *existence* is, that is to say, unless we had the idea of existence already in our mind. We have thus two modes of knowledge to be

¹ Every *sensation* is *particular*; *reflection* calls to mind the *particular*, *imagination* pictures it; but ideas are *universal*, and all involve the *idea of existence* or *being*, which is the most universal of all. How do we get the *universal*?

carefully distinguished from each other—knowledge by *judgment*, whereby we affirm the reality of individual things—knowledge by *intuition*, whereby we intellectually think pure ideas. With this fundamental distinction in view I now proceed to trace the origin and show the relative position of these two modes of thought. A little reflection will make it clear that the idea goes before the judgment, and is necessary for its formation.

We are said to *know a thing* when we apply to it the *idea of existence* and so judge that it is an *existing thing*.

That which is *no thing* is unthinkable, for the object of thought—the idea of existence—is gone. And this shows that the idea of existence is the necessary object of thought, as St. Thomas says, “The object of the intellect is *being* or common truth,” “*Objectum intellectus est ens vel verum commune*” (St. Thom., S.I. 55. 1. c.). It is the *first idea*, without which we can form no judgment and know nothing. It is plain, therefore, that the idea of existence must be self-known (*per se nota*), otherwise we should be incapable of knowing it or of knowing anything. And this is the same as to say that it must be the *first idea* and the *one innate idea* in the human mind.¹

¹ It does not account for the origin of the idea of *existence* in our minds to say we have in us a *faculty* endowed with the virtue of acquiring the idea of existence on occasion of the sensations. The question is, what is the nature of this faculty? What is this virtue with which it is endowed? For, in order that this faculty may be able to operate must it not be itself *in act*? For that which is not *in act*, has no *real, actual* existence, and therefore can not operate. For a faculty is nothing but a “first act” (*actus primus*) whence “second acts” (*actus secundi*), or what we commonly call “acts,” may proceed. Now the *first act* of the *intellectual faculty*—the *act* by which this faculty exists—must in the very nature of things, be an *intellectual* act; else the faculty would not be *intellectual*; and if the act is intellectual, it must consist in the *vision* or *intuition* of an *object*;

But how does this idea of existence make its appearance in the mind ?

Not as the product of the senses, for we are obliged to apply this idea on occasion of each sensation, in order to form that *idea* of the *thing* which necessarily arises in our mind on occasion of each sensation. In the following brief treatise Rosmini shows very clearly from the very nature of the idea of existence, which is the *formal* part of all our ideas, why this idea can not come from the senses. He shows that the sensations are limited to the particular impression made on our *sensorium*, whereas ideas are unlimited, and can be applied *ad infinitum* to any number of beings, and to any number of the same genus and species.¹ Now the idea of a thing is the same as the logical possibility of the thing. That which is possible was always possible, and is therefore eternal, and that which is eternal is divine, therefore Rosmini teaches that ideas are in a certain sense divine, *i.e.*, because they have divine characteristics.

The idea, therefore, is so totally distinct from the sensations, so immensely elevated above them, that it is absurd to suppose it to be the *product* of sensations, because no effect can rise higher than its source ; although it is, at the same time, an obvious fact that the

because this is what is meant by an *intellectual act*. The very etymology of *intellectus* (derived from *intus legere*, to read within) shows this clearly. The act of *reading* necessarily implies the act of *seeing* ; and there can be no *seeing* without something which *sees* and something which is *seen* ; in other words, without the intelligent *subject*, and the *object* which this *subject* looks at and thus *understands*. The thing seen—the object or idea present *ab initio* to the intelligent subject—the constitutive *form* of the human understanding (*vis intellectiva*), is the idea of *existence* or *being*, and this is the *light of reason*.

¹ Rosmini makes the faculty and art of language, as taught to man by the tradition of human society, a chief factor in the formation of abstract ideas, for words are sensible signs of ideas, and stand as sensible representations of ideal things, enabling us to form *classes* of things in our mind—genera and species, which are all abstract ideas.

ideas are made known to us on *occasion* of the sensations. In a word the sensations furnish the *material* element; the innate idea of existence, the *formal* element, of all the ideas we form by aid of the senses.

If then the *idea of existence* is not a product of sensation, yet if on occasion of the sensations we always find it in our mind, it is clear that we find there what was there before, which was never *formed* but which was *given from without*, by means of another faculty, that of intelligence, which, as Rosmini teaches, is endowed with the intuition of the idea of existence by God, in Whose Mind the idea of existence, and of all existences was from all eternity. This is expressed by St. Thomas when he says: "God in knowing Himself knows the nature of universal being," "*Deus cognoscendo Se cognoscit naturam universalis entis*" (C. G., I. 50).

And, indeed, this is self-evident, if we believe in God as the infinitely intelligent Creator, willing and therefore knowing every particle of creation from all eternity.

These ideas of possible being in the mind of God are the types according to which He created all things, by an act of His free will, willing in His creative act such things as He saw it was for the best to create. Thus an architect forms in his own mind the design which he intends to draw or to build, selecting also for good reasons, not always the thing most perfect in itself, but that which is best, all the circumstances being considered.

In like manner, regarding the communication of ideas; (to carry out the same analogy), the architect may if he pleases keep his idea to himself, or if he pleases he may communicate it or any portion of it to another mind, and then it becomes the thought or idea of that other; yet it would still be the original idea in essence, and the idea of the originator would always

stand *objectively* to the recipient, as something distinct from his own *subjectivity*.

Analogously to this we say that the idea of existence, and the ideas of existences, which we find in our mind, and which were elicited on occasion of the sensations, are the same that were originally in the Mind of God, Who, seeing all creation, saw even the modes in which the forces of the universe would make themselves perceived by us, and be classed as *things, objects, or beings*.¹ These ideas, Rosmini teaches, could come into our minds only by communication from God through the intellectual faculty, or intuition of the idea of existence, which combines with the sensations that are perceived by us, in the unity of the identical human subject, which is at once *sensitive* and *intelligent*. Thus it is the identical *Ego or self* which feels and knows, which knows that it feels, and feels that it knows, and the result is the intellectual perception of objects, or the formation of ideas and the application of them.²

St. Thomas says: "*Esse in quantum est esse non potest esse diversum*" (C. G. I. 52). The idea, therefore, of existence or of possible being in the mind of God is the same essence of being as the idea of existence in the mind of man. It must, therefore, be a communication to man of some thing that considered in itself is Divine, since the ideas in God are His Divine Substance. In God they are God. But if so, it is objected, "to suppose man to be by nature in communication with the Divine Substance is the error of the Ontologists and tends logically to Pantheism." Ros-

¹ *Qui cognoscit perfecte naturam universalem, omnes modos cognoscit in quibus illa natura potest haberi.* "He who knows perfectly universal nature knows all the modes in which that nature is able to be found" (St. Thom., C. Gentes, I. 50, *et passim*).

² Rosmini teaches that there is a spiritual as well as a corporeal sense, and that the soul feels itself as it knows itself.

mini replies, in his answer to Gioberti, "that the human mind has only the intuition of a *light* which descends from God and which is, therefore, an *appurtenance* of God. Now every appurtenance of God is God, if we consider it *as it is in God*, but if we consider it *abstracting* from all the rest that makes the Reality of God, it is an appurtenance of God, as the Divine Goodness and the Divine Wisdom are appurtenances of God but are not God Himself, for God is not Wisdom or Goodness only. Thus although in God there are no real distinctions except those of the three Divine Persons, God is able to distinguish *mentally* His *ideas* from His Divine *substance*; and as man likewise can abstract his ideas from himself and may impart his idea or a part of his idea to his fellow man without imparting his own substance, so God may abstract His ideas from Himself, and may communicate His ideas or some part of them, such as the idea of existence or being, without communicating to man His Own Divine Substance. He may manifest His *idea* without manifesting His *Reality* or Subsistence; and to the objection of Gioberti (that "this idea must be God, because everything is either God or a creature, but the idea of *being* is not a creature seeing it has Divine characters, therefore it must be God," Rosmini replies, "Every *real* being must be God or creature, but not so every *ideal* being. The idea of *being* abstracted from God's Reality is neither God nor creature, it is something *sui generis*, an *appurtenance* of God."

The idea of existence is the *light* of the mind, according to the analogy with the material light, so that the light of reason is the name given universally to the *informing* constitutive principle of the intellectual faculty. For, as it is by the material light that our eye is enlightened so as to receive the impressions of form

and colour which aid us to distinguish one thing from another; and without this light the whole universe would remain for us perfectly dark; so the idea of existence is the *light of our mind*, by which we actually distinguish objects and know existences, on occasion of our eye being enlightened by the material light, or on receiving other sensitive impressions.

This *light of reason* is, according to Rosmini, what Philosophy, following the lines traced out by Aristotle, defines as the *LUMEN intellectus agentis*, and of which St. Thomas tells us that: "The *light* of the acting intellect, is a participation of the Light impressed upon us, or a participation of the Eternal Light, *participatio Luminis in nobis impressa, seu participatio Lucis æternæ*."

St. John tells us, *Deus erat Verbum . . . erat Lux vera quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum*—"The Word of God is the light that enlighteneth every man coming into the world."

It is this "idea of existence" or "light of being" given to man, which constitutes the *objectivity* of truth, as seen by the human mind. For truth is that which *is*, as falsehood is that which *is not*. It is this which makes man intelligent and gives him a moral law, by which he sees the *beingness* or essence of things, and recognizes the duty of his own being, to act towards each being whether finite or infinite, creature or God, according to the *beingness* or essence of being which he beholds in the light of the truth of being.

Thus is secured the objectiveness of truth; and the high rule of morality and religion is summed up in the grand sentence of Rosmini, which he shows to be the *divine imperative* in the conscience of man, "*Riconoscere l'ente secondo la sua entità*"—"Recognize being according to the beingness that is in it." He shows, too, that this

same principle of natural reason,¹ when sublimated by Divine Grace, becomes the great principle of Faith and Charity, dictating to us the duty, and giving the power of loving God above all things and our neighbour as ourselves, inspiring the soul of man to perform deeds of supernatural self-sacrifice, arising from the intimate sense of the presence and love of God in the soul, and the conviction of the nothingness of all things, except as they give glory to God, by being used according to the infinitely perfect Will of God, in which He designed the universe, and which He causes man to know by the natural and supernatural light, and by the external manifestations of His Providence.

¹ *Natural reason*, as defined by St. Augustine and St. Thomas, is cited in an earlier part of this chapter. The full quotation is found in the ordinary compendiums. It may be read in the *Moral Theology of Gury*, S.J., *de Legibus* :—"Lex æterna seu Divina est ratio Divinæ Sapientiæ ; lex naturalis est *participatio* Legis æternæ in rationali creatura, juxta illud Davidicum, 'Quis ostendet nobis bona? Signatum est super nos Vultus Tui Domine ;' ordinem naturalem conservare jubens perturbare vetans."

"The Eternal Law is the Reason of the Divine Wisdom ; the natural law is the participation of the Eternal Law in the rational creature, according to the words of David, 'Who shall show us *good*? The light of Thy countenance is signed or stamped upon us ;' commanding that the *order of nature* shall be kept and forbidding that it shall be transgressed." The order of nature is plainly the order of being—the law of the order of nature is the recognition and observance of the *beingness* of things.

CHAPTER XII.

A SKETCH BY ROSMINI OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY AND OF HIS OWN SYSTEM.

Modern Philosophy.

THE following sketch, written by Rosmini more than forty years ago, has only recently appeared in print in the Italian original.

I. Locke (1632-1704).

Locke undertook to solve the problem of the origin of ideas. According to him all ideas are acquired by *sensation* aided by *reflection*.

By reflection he meant the labour of the reflective faculty of the human soul exercised upon the sensations. It follows that Locke denies to the mind every innate idea.

By innate ideas we mean ideas or cognitions which man has in his mind by nature.

II. Condillac (1715-1780).

The philosophy of Locke was propagated in France by Condillac with certain modifications of his own.

Condillac professed to have simplified the ideological system of Locke by his suppression of *reflection*, which he held to be nothing more than sensation.

He thus reduced all human cognitions to sensation only. He held, therefore, that man possessed one only faculty—namely, the faculty of sensation. Memory, imagination, intelligence, and reason were only different modes of sensation.

This system was most pernicious in its consequences as well in regard of morals as of religion. For, if man has no faculty but that of *sensation*, it follows that good and evil are nothing more than agreeable or disagreeable sensations. Thus morality would consist in procuring for ourselves pleasant sensations, and in avoiding those which are displeasing.

This immoral system was developed in France by Helvetius (1713-1771), and Bentham (1748-1832), the leader of the English *utilitarian* school, applied its teaching to the promotion of public prosperity.

III. Berkeley (1684-1752).

Berkeley, an Anglican Bishop, was educated in the school of Locke. His intentions were good. Whilst some carried out Locke's system into *Materialism*, he undertook to deduce *Spiritualism* from it in the following way.

Accepting the principle then usually admitted, that all human knowledge must be reduced to an aggregate of sensations, he observed that the sensations can have no existence except in the being which is sensible of them, and of which they are so many modifications. The sensations then do not exist outside of man, but only in man, in the human soul.

It follows, therefore, that if man knows nothing beyond his own sensations, the objects of his knowledge are not outside him, but exist only in his own soul as modifications of his own spirit. Consequently the whole external world exists merely in appearance; it consists only of sensations which manifest themselves in the soul as modifications of itself.

This system, which denies the *external existence* of bodies, leaving nothing in existence but spirit, is termed *Idealism*.

Berkeley applied his system to the analysis of bodies.

He goes over all the qualities we attribute to bodies, and shows that they are only certain sensations experienced by ourselves. He thence concludes that our whole knowledge of bodies consists in an aggregate of sensations, and that what we term *the qualities of bodies* exist not as is commonly supposed in the bodies themselves, or outside of us, but in ourselves only.

Whence then do we get the sensations? This question is proposed by Berkeley in his celebrated *Dialogues of Philonous and Philylas*. He replies that they are produced immediately by God in the human soul. He shows by the example of dreams that there is no need for the presence of corporeal objects in order to our acquiring the persuasion of their presence, the feeling of their presence is sufficient. Thus, according to Berkeley, human life is a continuous dream, with this difference only, that in life the several sensations have an harmonious and constant connection one with another; whereas in dreams they take place without this harmony and constancy—the visual sensations and images, for example, having no correspondence with those of touch.

IV. Hume (1711-1776).

Hume was also educated in the school of Locke. He accepted as certain, without examination, the principle that all human cognitions may be reduced to sensation. But, whilst Berkeley had arrived by this principle at *Idealism*, Hume, on the other hand, arrived at *Scepticism*, or the system which denies all certainty to human cognitions.

He said, human reasoning is based on the *principle of cause*, which is thus expressed: "Here is an effect, therefore there must be a cause." But this principle, he continued, is false and illusory, for man knows nothing but his sensations, and a sensation can never be a cause of anything.

In fact, a cause is such only in so far as it acts—it is an active entity. But a sensation is not an entity; it is the modification of an entity; it is not active but passive, therefore a sensation can not be a cause.

But we know nothing except our sensations, we can, therefore, know nothing about cause. What we term “cause and effect” are only antecedent and subsequent sensations, and we reason falsely when we assume that the sensation which precedes is the cause of that which follows. The argument *post hoc ergo propter hoc* is false reasoning; therefore, he said, when we speak of beings as causes of effects in the sensible world, we attempt the impossible, for it is certainly impossible to proceed from sensations to the knowledge of any cause whatever.

The impiety of this system is manifest, since by denying or doubting the principle of cause, we deny or doubt the existence of the first cause—God Himself.

V. Reid (1710-1796).

The disastrous consequences deduced by two such powerful minds as Berkeley and Hume from the principles of Locke, aroused and alarmed the Scottish philosopher Reid. He saw that these consequences annihilated the external world, and destroyed all certainty of human cognitions with such rigour of logic, that, by granting the premises, no escape was possible from the conclusion.

But on the other hand he saw that these consequences were opposed to the common sense of mankind, and destroyed all morality and religion. Therefore he said, “They can not be true.”

The conclusion, therefore, of Reid was that the premises were false, and that Locke's system must not be accepted blindly, but must be submitted to a profound re-examination in order to detect the falsehood which lay at its root.

He set to work on this investigation with all the force of his genius, and in the end was convinced that he had succeeded.

Reid observed that in the fact of human perception there is something besides simple sensation. If it were true that man knows nothing beyond his sensations he would be able to affirm nothing beyond them. But experience shows us that we affirm the existence of *real beings* which are not our sensations; since we are conscious of knowing not only the modifications of our own spirit, but also the *substances* which are not ourselves, and which exercise an action upon us. We must, therefore, conclude that we have not only the faculty of sensation, but another mysterious faculty as well, and that whenever we experience a sensation it is this which excites and compels us to affirm the existence of something outside of the sensation.

But here the Scottish philosopher found himself confronted by the following difficulties, which form the great knot of the ideological problem.

How can we explain this faculty which affirms that which we do not find in the sensation?

The object of this faculty is not given by sensation. Where then does it reside—what presents it to our perception?

Reid endeavoured to meet the difficulties thus: he said, "We must not go beyond our facts. Now it is attested by fact that we perceive substance and *being*, things which do not fall under our senses, which are entirely different from sensations, but which we perceive on occasion of the sensations. We must therefore admit that the human soul has of its own nature an *instinct* which leads us to this perception. This instinct is a primitive faculty which must be accepted as an ultimate and inexplicable fact."

According to Reid, then, there is in us a *suggestion of nature*, as he terms it, by which, on experiencing the sensations we are necessitated not to stop there, but to pass beyond them by an act of thought, to the persuasion of the *existence of real beings*, which are the *causes of our sensations*, and to which we give the name of *bodies*.

By means of this primitive faculty, which affirms or perceives the corporeal substance itself, Reid thought he had confuted the *Idealism* of Berkeley, and secured the existence of bodies. He thought also that by placing the criterion of certitude in this same primitive faculty, he had given its death-blow to the Scepticism of Hume. He imagined that he had thus reconciled philosophy with the common sense of mankind, from which it had been divorced by the English philosophers.

The merit of the thinkers of the Scottish school consists in this, that they were the first who attempted to liberate philosophy from the sensistic principles of Locke and Condillac.

VI. Kant (1724-1800).

Whilst it was supposed that the Scottish School had placed philosophy once for all on a solid basis, the celebrated Sophist of Königsberg came and shattered its foundations again, and worse than before. He took the author of the Scottish School at his word, and proceeded to reason with him much as follows: "You are quite right in saying that our persuasion of the existence of bodies does not come from the sense, but from a totally different faculty. The human spirit is by its very nature obliged to affirm the existence of bodies when our sensitive faculty experiences sensations. If so, our faith in the existence of bodies is an effect of the nature of the human mind, and hence if our mind were differently constituted we should not be necessi-

tated to affirm that bodies exist. Therefore the truth of the existence of bodies is *subjective* or relative to the mind that pronounces it, but it is not in any way *objective*. We are indeed obliged to admit the existence of bodies, because we are so constituted that we cannot resist this instinct of our nature; but it does not by any means follow that these bodies exist in themselves—that they have an objective existence independent of us.”

This reasoning was extended by Kant to all human cognitions in general. He maintained that since they are all and each acts and products of the human spirit, and this spirit can never go out of itself, so there can be nothing but *subjective* truth and certainty, and, therefore, we can never be sure that things are such as they appear.

To support this reasoning he observed that as all beings act according to the laws of their nature, so their products bear the stamp of those laws, whence he concluded that since our cognitions are all products of our own spirit, they must necessarily be in conformity with its nature and laws.

“Who can tell,” he says, “that if there were a mind constituted differently from our own, it would not see things quite differently from what they appear to us? Does not a mirror reflect objects according to the form which these objects assume in it, a convex mirror showing them elongated, a concave mirror on the contrary making them appear shortened.”

“The human mind therefore,” he continues, “gives its own *forms* to the objects of its cognitions, it does not receive those forms from the objects themselves. Now the office of the philosopher consists in discovering what those forms are, in enumerating them one by one, and in defining each according to its proper limitations. For

this, all that is *required is* accurately to observe all the objects of human cognition, transferring the forms of such objects to the human mind itself, and thus getting rid of the *transcendental* illusion, which leads us to imagine that the forms belong to the objects, whilst they are actually the forms of our own mind."

This task Kant undertook to accomplish in his work, which bears the title of *A Critique of Pure Reason*. His method is as follows :—

The *Sensitivity*, according to Kant, has two forms. The one he assigns to the external sense, and he terms it *space*, the other to the internal sense, and he calls this *time*. To the *understanding* he assigns four forms, *quantity, quality, modality, and relation*; to the *reason* he gives three forms—namely, *absolute matter, absolute whole, absolute spirit*; in other words, matter, the universe, and God.

By this method Kant professed to reconcile all the most opposite systems of philosophy. Of these he makes two grand divisions, the *Dogmatic* and the *Sceptical*. Under the *Dogmatic* he includes all that admitted the truth and certainty of human cognitions. Under the *Sceptical* those that denied them. He said that both sides were in the right; that the Dogmatists were so, because a truth and certainty existed—namely, the subjective or relative; and that the Sceptics too were right, because there was no such thing as objective truth or certainty in the objects considered in themselves, since man cannot know anything as it is in itself.

This system Kant termed *Criticism*, because it criticised not only all previous systems, but human reason itself. He also called it *Transcendental* Philosophy, because it transcended sense and experience, and subjected to its criticism all that man believed himself to know about the sensible world.

The system of Kant, however, is in fact :

1. *Sceptical*, because the subjective truth and certainty which he admits cannot, except by an abuse of words, be called either truth or certainty.

2. *Idealistic*, since it admits only the subjective existence of bodies, and declares them to be the mere product of instinct, and of the innate forms of the human mind. It admits bodies only in appearance, and denies their proper existence. Moreover, his system is idealism, transported from the *particular* to the *general*. It is the idealism which Berkeley had applied to bodies only, extended by Kant, no less than by Hume before him, to all the objects of human cognition, whether corporeal or spiritual, concrete or abstract.

3. *Atheistic*, because if human reason cannot give us security of the absolute and objective truth of the objects presented to our perception, there is no possibility of knowing with certainty the existence of God, and God is reduced to a subjective phenomenon. Kant himself admits this with perfect frankness. In fact, he criticises all the arguments employed by philosophers to demonstrate the existence of God, and proves, as he thinks, that they are futile and useless.

4. *Pantheistic*, because according to this system nothing is left but spirit, which produces and figures to itself all things, in virtue of its inherent instincts and innate forms. It follows that one only substance exists, which is the human subject itself, and which carries within it the whole universe and God Himself ; so that God, in this system, becomes a modification of man.

5. *Spiritualistic* and *Materialistic* at once, because what we call *matter* is in the *object man* as a product of himself, and what we call *spirit* is also in the *object man* as producing and modifying him, so that the human spirit becomes at one and the same time *spirit* and *matter*.

VII. Fichte (1762-1814).

Fichte was a disciple of Kant. When he published his work *The Science of Cognition* (*Wissenschaftslehre*), he intended to give a scientific explanation of the system of Kant. But Kant repudiated the explanation, and thus Fichte became aware that he had invented a new system of his own.

The difference between the *Critical Philosophy* and *Transcendental Idealism*, as Fichte termed his system, is as follows :

Although Kant held that we have no means of knowing whether the objects which appear to us are actually such as they appear, he did not deny the possibility of this being the case: that they may have a mode of existence independent of us, although we have no means of ascertaining it. But Fichte went further and denied that this was possible. He moreover maintained that these objects could be nothing but the product of the human spirit. He argued thus: the objects of cognition are all the products of the act of cognition, but the act of cognition is a product of the human spirit, therefore the objects of cognition are also products of our own spirit. These objects, he continued, may be reduced to the sensible universe, God, and ourselves. Therefore the universe, God, and ourselves, are only so many products of our own spirit, which places them before it as objects of its cognition.

Fichte then goes on to explain how the human spirit produces from itself all these things. He says that with the first pronouncement or creation the *Ego* posits itself. Before man says *Ego*, he is not as yet under the form of *Ego*. By a second pronouncement man, the *Ego*, posits the *non-Ego*, or creates it. The *non-Ego*, according to Fichte, is all that is not *Ego*, that is to say

the external world, the divinity, and all objects of human thought whatsoever. Now these two acts by which our spirit posits the *Ego* and the *non-Ego* are co-relatives, so that the one cannot stand without the other. The human spirit cannot pronounce itself without contrasting this *self* with what is different from *itself*, by which act it denies this to be itself, and thus differentiates itself from all the rest. It cannot pronounce the *non-Ego* without contrasting it with the *Ego*, and finding it to be different from itself.

This double creation of the *Ego* and *non-Ego* is according to Fichte the first operation of the human spirit, which he also terms *intuition*. It has two relations or terms, which are in mutual contrast and opposition. By this first mysterious operation he thinks he has explained not only the origin of human cognition, but the existence of all things as well; for, since the *non-Ego* includes all that is not the *Ego*, it includes God as well as the external world, and thus he arrives at the absurd proposition that not only the external world but even God Himself is a creation of man.

This system is termed *Transcendental Idealism*, because it applies the idealistic principle of Berkeley to all things without exception, drawing forth with an inexorable logic all its consequences, and discovering the abyss concealed beneath. The *critical Philosophy* of Kant left a doubt whether or not things had a subsistence of their own; this was decided by Fichte in the negative; he thus changed the *critical* Scepticism of Kant into *dogmatic* Scepticism.

From Fichte's system were originated in Germany the two others: *Schelling's system of absolute identity*, and *Hegel's of the absolute idea*, but we omit other later developments as unnecessary for our present purpose.

VIII. Critique of the above Systems.

The observations of Reid on the subject of the Sensism of Locke and Condillac, Berkeley and Hume were perfectly just, being founded on a more complete study of the phenomena of the human spirit.

He said, if man had no other faculty but that of sensation, he would *feel* only, but he would never *think*. Thought is something beyond sensation, for we think of what we do not feel; we arrive at substance, for example, at cause and spirit by thought, yet they do not fall under our senses. Therefore the objects of human thought are not merely simple sensations. However evident the fact may be, it is difficult to understand *how* it is. It is still more difficult to understand, though equally evident, that we *think* of the sensations in a way very different from that in which we *feel* the sensation itself. Our mind, in fact, affirms the sensation in itself, and this indifferently whether it is actually present, or past, or future. For example, I think of the pleasant odour of the rose I experienced yesterday; the sensation itself is no longer present, but the thought of it remains. Therefore "the sensation" itself is not the same thing as "the thought of the sensation."

We may say the same as to future sensations. I think over the pleasant sensations I expect to-morrow in the chase or at a banquet. The sensations do not yet exist, yet the thought of them is present. *Thought* therefore differs essentially from *sensation*. This being the case, I am bound to conclude that even when the sensation and the thought of the sensation are both present at the same time, they not only differ essentially, but are independent of one another.

Moreover, who has not observed how many times we experience sensations without thinking of them, espec-

ally if they are not very vivid or are habitual and manifold, such as we experience in every moment of our existence. They pass unobserved, our mind, particularly if distracted or otherwise occupied, has not time to reflect upon them. We can, therefore, easily understand that there are beings which are purely sensitive, and others in whom thought is united with sensation ; the first are those that have brute animal life, the second are human beings. This distinction once admitted demolishes the fundamental principle of Locke and his followers. Locke confounded sensation with thought, and attempted to apply to thought what actually applied to sensation only.

The True Nature of Thought.—So far Reid was in the right in dealing with the Sensists, but in attempting to confute the Sceptics he found himself stranded. For, seeing the necessity of basing philosophy on thought, and of giving a satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of thought, and seeing that these could in no way be accounted for by the senses only, he boldly took the line of declaring that they were to be attributed to a particular and essential instinct of human nature. In this he took notice of the *subjective* part of thought only, entirely losing sight of its *objective* element, and so failed to grasp the true nature of thought itself. For it is of the nature of thought that there is always present to the subject, an object which can never be confounded with the subject, but on the contrary is constantly distinguished from it ; and in this continual and necessary distinction the thought itself consists, so that if ever the object were confounded with the subject, thought would thereby cease to exist.

This error or omission of Reid was taken advantage of by Kant, thence to raise doubts, not merely as to the existence of bodies, but as to all the objects of human cognition, all of which he maintains are only products,

as we have already seen, of an irresistible instinct of human nature, and, therefore, mere subjective creations of the human spirit. The transcendental Idealism of Fichte is nothing but a logical complement of the system of Kant.

We may expose the error of Kant, which was at the root of the many other errors of German Pantheism, by the following reasoning :—"I know that I am not the object of my thought, and that the object of my thought is not myself. Thus I know that I am not the bread that I eat, the sun which I behold, the person with whom I converse. This is self-evident, because I am so known to myself that if I were not so known I should no longer be. Therefore nothing can be *me* without my knowing it. But I do not know that the bread, the sun, the person I converse with are myself. Therefore I know that they are not myself."

Kant could only reply to this that we are deceived, and that things might easily be ourselves without our knowing it. But this could not be, for if I did not know it I should not be myself, since the *Ego* implies the consciousness of myself. Without this consciousness of self the *Ego* would not be *Ego* but something else. Therefore the objects which stand before my thought are essentially distinct from myself. For the same reason they cannot be modifications of myself, because if so they would exist in my consciousness as modifications of myself, since the nature of the *Ego* consists in this consciousness of myself.

The Bridge of Communication between ourselves and the external objects.—But the Idealists object: What then is "the bridge of communication between the *Ego*, myself, and the object of the *Ego*? Can the *Ego* go out of itself so as to reach a thing outside itself?"

To this we reply, that however difficult the question may be, even though it were found inexplicable, this

would in no way weaken our assertion of a fact already fully verified. Sound logic demands that when we have a verified fact before us it is not to be given up because we do not know how to explain it. The only conclusion is that we have to admit our ignorance. This, however, is not our present position.

Reflection on this matter will show that this objection arises from what we may call a certain *materialistic ontology*, which leads our Idealists to apply to all being, whether spiritual or corporeal, the laws which belong to matter only. For example, a law of corporeal beings is the impenetrability of bodies, so that one body cannot stand in the place occupied by another. But how do we know that this law holds good for incorporeal beings or spirits? There is no reason why spirits should not be subject to wholly different laws, and this, in fact, is what we might expect from the difference between the nature of body and that of spirit.

How then can we judge of this latter nature?

Certainly not by arguing from the analogy of bodies, but by observing and well considering what spirits are in themselves. Now if we observe and consider well this intelligent spirit of ours, and its active and passive qualities, we come clearly to see that it obeys a totally opposite law from that which governs bodies, and that far from our being able to say that it is impenetrable in its nature, we find that the objects of thought may exist in it, not merely without being confounded with it, but whilst remaining perfectly distinct and different from it. The very word "*object*" used in common parlance expresses this fact by its very etymology, meaning something set opposite—*objectum*. Such is the result of observation, and since it involves no absurdity it ought to be accepted. There is no need

then of any bridge of communication between our spirit and external things, since this may be found immediately in the spirit according to that immaterial mode which we call *cognition* or *knowledge*.

A consideration of the order of things sensible will lead us to a similar reflection if we regard the soul as the sensitive principle. Now no true sensitive principle can exist as such without having a sensible *term*, or something which it feels. We do not call this an *object*, but a *term*, reserving the former word for the intellectual order only. Every sensitive principle, therefore, has a term which it feels.

Now it is a fact of experience that the term which is felt remains always in the sentient principle, and cannot go out of or beyond it. It is also a fact of experience that the thing *felt* is not the principle that *feels*. Now under the denomination of the thing felt or sensible term are included all sensible things without exception.

From these undeniable facts there flow two consequences: the first, that the *sensible* things or things felt can never be confounded with the *sensitive* principle or principle which feels them, and this is enough to refute completely the Idealism of Berkeley; the second is that which Galluppi has well remarked—namely, that the sense affirms and perceives the external things immediately without needing any bridge of communication whatever.

These considerations prove conclusively that the systems of Kant and Fichte are based on an incomplete observation of nature, which led these philosophers to confound together two diametrically opposite things—namely, the “*subject*” or knower, and the “*object*” or thing known; the “principle” that *feels*, and the “term” *felt*.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROSMINI'S SUMMARY OF HIS OWN SYSTEM.

1. *Distinction between Subject and Object.*

IT is clear, then, from what we have already said that the *object known* is a thing entirely different from the *subject or knower*.

The subject that knows is a person, the object, as such, is impersonal. Sometimes, however, we may say that in a certain sense the object known is a subject that knows, when, for instance, the object of thought is man ; sometimes also the subject that knows is itself the object known, as when we think of ourselves. But the *subject that knows* can never, *as such*, be confounded or mixed up with *the object known*. Always and in every case the *subject* and the *object* retain their respective natures, each remaining perfectly distinct from the other, so distinct that if it were otherwise our knowledge itself would be extinguished. The distinction between *subject* and *object* is therefore an essential characteristic of cognition.

The question, therefore, is reduced to this : Whence does our understanding obtain its object ?

Human cognitions are divided into two classes, *intuitions* and *affirmations*.

Intuitional knowledge or cognition is that which re-

gards the things, as considered in themselves, the things in their *possibility*. The things considered in themselves, as possible to subsist or not to subsist are the ideas.

Cognition obtained by means of affirmation or judgment is that knowledge which we acquire by affirming or judging that a thing subsists or does not subsist.

From this description the following consequences spring:

1. That the cognitions by *intuition* necessarily precede those of *affirmation*, for we can not affirm that a thing subsists or does not subsist, unless we first know the thing itself as possible to subsist; for example, I can not say that a tree or a man subsists unless I first know what a tree or a man is. Now to know what a thing is, comes to the same as to know the thing in its possibility, for I may know what a tree is, and yet not know that this tree as yet subsists.

2. That the *objects* as *known* all belong to intuitional knowledge, because affirmation is limited to affirming or denying the subsistence of the object as known by *intuition*. *Affirmation*, therefore, does not furnish any new object to the mind, but only pronounces the subsistence of the object already known. *Intuition*, therefore, places us in possession of possible objects, and these we call *ideas*. *Affirmation* does not furnish us with new possible objects, or new ideas, but produces *persuasions* in respect of the objects which we know already.

There are, therefore, cognitions which terminate in ideas, and cognitions which terminate in persuasions. By the first we know the possible world, by the second the real and subsistent world. Hence there are two categories of things—things *possible* and things *subsistent*, in other words, *ideas* and *things*.

2. *Ideas are not nothing. They have a mode of existence proper to themselves.*

We have seen that the *objects* of our cognitions are essentially distinct from ourselves, who are the *subjects* of the cognitions. This distinction of the *object* from the *subject* of cognition is proper to all objects whatever, whether they are only possible (*ideas*) or are also subsistent (*things*). But not only are all such objects distinct from the cognising subject, they are also independent of it. By this observation a new light is thrown on the nature of ideas, for they compel us to conclude by the logic of facts :

1st. That *ideas* are not *nothing*.

2d. That they are not *ourselves* or any modification of ourselves.

3d. That they have a mode of existence of their own, entirely different from that of *real* or *subsistent* things.

This mode of existence belonging to the ideal objects or ideas is such that it does not fall under our bodily sense, and hence it is that it has entirely escaped the observation of many philosophers, who began their philosophical investigations with a foregone conclusion, or assumption, that whatever did not fall under our senses was nothing. Yet it is a fact that though the *possible objects* truly exist they do not fall under sense, and hence that we can in no way account for them by recurring to corporeal sense only ; which is a fresh and self-evident confutation of *sensism*.

3. *Principal characteristics of ideas.*

But if ideas, or, in other words, the ideal and possible objects, are not furnished by the senses, whence then do they come ?

Let us begin by examining the essential characteristics of ideas. These are principally two — namely, *universality* and *necessity*.

An ideal object or one that is merely possible, is always universal, in this sense, that taken by itself it enables us to know the nature of all the indefinite number of individuals in which it is, or may be realized. Take, for example, the idea of man. The *idea of man* is the same as the *ideal man*. Whatever be the number of human individuals in whom this idea may be realized there is always the same nature of man ; that nature is one, the individuals are many.

Now what does the idea of man, or the ideal man express and make us know? The nature of man. Whoever, therefore, possesses the idea of man, if he had the power of creation, would be able by this alone to produce as many human individuals as he pleased. In the same way this one idea is sufficient to enable us to discern all men who may ever come into existence. So also a sculptor who had conceived the idea of a statue, would be able to reproduce it in marble as many times as he pleased, without the idea being ever exhausted. The ideal statue would remain one and always the same, standing before the mind as the exemplar ; the material copies would be many, all formed and made known by means of this same idea. This is what is meant by the *universality* of ideas, by which they are categorically distinguished from the real objects which are always *particular*, and from the sensations which are also *particular*.

The characteristic of *necessity* is equally evident, because the ideas being possible objects, it is clear that what is possible can never have been otherwise than possible, and hence it is such, necessarily. The *possible* is that which involves no contradiction ; every object,

therefore, which involves no contradiction is necessarily possible. Now all finite and real beings considered in their reality are contingent only and not necessary, in contradiction to possible beings. For we may think of any finite or real being whatsoever, as existing or not existing, whereas we can not think of the possible object ceasing to be possible, that is to say, becoming not possible. For example, man in his possibility is necessary, for you can not make man an impossible being; on the contrary, a real man is always a contingent being, because he may or may not be.

Universality, therefore, and *necessity* are the two principal characteristics of the ideas. These include two others—namely, *infinity* and *eternity*.

An infinity is necessarily involved in ideas, by reason of their universality. No real and limited being is universal. For by reason of its very limits it is determined within itself and incommunicable to any other being. Hence ideas do not belong to the class of *real* limited beings.

Ideas are also eternal, because they are necessary; for that which is necessary always was and always will be necessary, and that which always is and always was, is eternal.

4. *The ideas exist in God from all eternity.*

It was the consideration of these sublime characteristics of the ideas that led Plato, and after him St. Augustine and St. Thomas, to conclude that the ideas reside in God¹ as their source and principle.

¹ *Ideæ sunt principales quædam formæ vel rationes rerum stabiles atque incommutabiles: quia ipsæ formatæ non sunt, ac per hoc æternæ: ac semper eodem modo se habentes, quia divina intelligentia continentur.* —St. Thomas Summ., theol. II., p. 9, xx., act 2, *et passim*. “Ideas are

From this opinion Malebranche deduced his system that man, as well as every other finite intelligence, sees all that he does see in God. This system was afterwards defended from the imputations against its theological orthodoxy by Cardinal Gerdil.

We do not entirely accept this system, for reasons too long to enter upon here, but we recognise in it a foundation of truth, and we say in general that the differences between our system and that of Malebranche lies not in fundamentals but in details.

5. *Important distinction of ideas in God and in man.*

We are very particular in distinguishing the ideas as they are in God and as seen by our intelligence. The ideas are in God in a different mode from that in which they are displayed to our mind. The ideas in God have a *mode* of existence which differs in nothing from that of God Himself, and this is the *mode* of the Divine Word; Who is "with God" without any real distinction in Himself, and "is God" Himself. This is not the case with the ideas as exhibited to our mind.

In our mind the ideas are many and do not constitute by themselves the word of man, because the word is the expression of a judgment or affirmation or pronouncement, which has its term always in a reality, whereas the ideas only cause us to know the *possibility* of a reality. Hence the ideas are limited by the human mind which receives them in such a way that they can not receive the appellation of God or the Divine Word, because God is the Real absolute Being Who subsists

certain principal *forms* or stable and incommutable reasons of things: for they are not formed, and therefore are eternal: and they hold themselves always in the same mode, because they are contained in the *Divine Intelligence*."

necessarily : whereas the ideas are only *possibles*, that is possible real beings of which we have the intuition. And yet the ideas retain certain divine characteristics, such as we have stated above, so that we may with propriety term them *appurtenances* of God.

Hence, speaking generally, we may say that the origin of the ideas comes from God, Who causes them to shine before the human mind ; nor can they come to man from the external things, because finite beings possess none of those sublime characteristics, and nothing can impart what it does not possess.

6. *Classification of the ideas. The one indeterminate idea and the determinate ideas—concrete and abstract ideas.*

We may now advance a step further towards discovering the origin of human ideas, explaining their multiplicity, and showing how they concur in the production of that class of cognitions which are termed cognitions by *persuasion*.

We will begin by classifying the ideas according to the order of subordination in which they stand to one another. We find, therefore, that there is one idea, which is the only indeterminate and wholly universal idea, and this is the idea of *being* or *existence*. All the other ideas are more or less determinate, and give us the knowledge of possible beings within a more restricted area.

Now, between the indeterminate idea of *being* or *existence*, and all the other ideas, there exists this relation, that all the other ideas contain the indeterminate idea of *being*, to which different determinations are super-added. Take, for instance, the ideas of stone, tree, animal, man.

How do I get the idea of stone? It is a being, but not any kind of being, but one which has the determinations of stone.

How do I get the idea of tree? It is a being with the determination of tree.

How do I get the idea of animal? Again, it is a being which has the determination of animal.

How do I get the idea of man? Still we have a being with the determination proper to man.

We find, therefore, that *being* enters into all our ideas, and every determinate idea is nothing but this same idea of *being*, invested with and limited by certain determinations. All the ideas, therefore, have the same basis, one common element, which is ideal or possible *being*.

These determinations of the idea of *being* may be more or less complete, that is to say, they may determine *being* entirely, or determine it only on one side, leaving the other sides undetermined.

Thus, for example, I may form the idea of a book of a certain size and shape, printed in a certain type, and in fact furnished with all the other accidental determinations of a given book. This is the determinate idea of a book, and nevertheless this idea is still general, because it is a pure idea, not a real book; it is a type or exemplar which I have before my mind, and according to this type I might form an indefinite number of real books all precisely alike. On the other hand, I may have the idea of a book to a certain extent indeterminate, as when I think of a book with all that constitutes its essence, prescinding from the accidents of size, shape, type, etc. Now when the ideas are all fully or perfectly determined we call them *concrete* ideas; when they remain to a certain extent indeterminate we call them *abstract*. But if from the idea of book I take away all

its determinations, as well accidental as essential, the idea of book vanishes from my mind, and nothing remains but the idea of indeterminate *being*.

Thus the ideas take as it were the form of a pyramid. The first course in the structure is formed of the concrete and wholly determinate ideas, and these are necessarily the most numerous. The other courses consist of the less determinate ideas, which diminish in proportion as we divest them of their determinations. The apex of the pyramid consists of the idea of *being* which alone is without determinations.

If then we wish to give a satisfactory explanation of the origin of ideas we must account for two things—first, the indeterminate idea ; and second, its determinations.

7. *Formation of determinate ideas.*

As regards the determinations of the idea of *being* (which is itself the indeterminate idea), we shall easily discover their origin by the following consideration.

Let us suppose that man is possessed of the idea of *being*, that is to say, that he knows what being or existence is, we see at once how the idea may be exchanged for the sensation. Because when we experience sensations we may say to ourselves, this is a being limited and determined by the sensation. For example, when I see a star I may say mentally, this is a luminous being, and the like.

The sensations, therefore, furnish me with the first determinations of being, so that when I think of a luminous being acting upon my organ of sight, I no longer think of indeterminate being only, but of a being with the determination of luminosity, of a certain degree of luminous intensity, of a determinate size and shape, &c. All these qualities make the idea determinate,

and are all furnished by the senses. But it does not follow that these determinations of the idea are the sensations themselves. This we shall see if we distinguish the different operations which take place in the formation of these perceptions.

In fact, when on beholding a star we say to ourselves, this is a luminous being, we pronounce an affirmation or judgment. We have already shown the distinction between cognitions by affirmation and simple ideas. But we have said also that the first of these depend on the latter, so that we can not affirm the subsistence of an object, unless we first have the idea of it. Therefore, in the judgment by which we affirm the star as present before our eyes, and which we term the *perception* of the star, the idea of it is already contained. We have then to perform another mental operation by isolating the idea from all the other elements of the perception. This operation is termed *universalisation*, and it is thus performed :

When I perceive the star, my thought is bound up with a particular and sensible object. But I can free it from this by abstracting entirely from the thought of the actual subsistence of the star, retaining the image of it in my mind, and considering it as a possible star, as type and exemplar of all such stars, indefinite as to their number, which might be realised by creative power. Now the possible star is a pure determinate idea.

This determinate idea is no longer the sensation ; for this is real not possible, yet it is true that the sensation was the *occasion* of my discovering it. It was discovered by my *intelligence*, by considering as *possible* that which my sensation gave me as *real*. And this my intelligence was well able to do, if we suppose it to know what possible *being* is. But the possible star is *universal*,

that is to say it may be realised an indefinite number of times, and this operation of our intelligence is, therefore, termed *universalisation*.

By *Universalisation*, therefore, we form the ideas which are completely determined ; by *abstraction* we form those which are determined only to a certain extent, but otherwise are undetermined. Thus, supposing that, besides abstracting from the subsistence of the star, I abstract also from its size and form, its degree of luminosity, and other accidents, what remains before my mind ? I have still the idea of star, but this idea is abstract or generic, equally applicable to a star of the first, second, or third magnitude. This idea, then, is partly determinate, because the idea of star could not be confounded with the idea of anything else ; but it is also in part indeterminate, because it does not apply more to one star than to another.

If then the human mind is possessed of the idea of possible being, there is no difficulty in finding how it gets the determinations which, as it were, clothe, limit, and transform it into all the other ideas. These determinations are occasioned and, materially, furnished by the sensations, and afterwards formed into ideas by means of the twofold operations above described—namely, *universalisation* and *abstraction*.

8. *Origin of the one indeterminate idea—The idea of being or existence.*

It remains still to explain whence comes the idea of *being*, the sole indeterminate idea. If we once admit that this idea is *given* to the human spirit, there is no difficulty as to the origin of the other ideas, because, as we have seen, these are nothing else but that same idea of *being* invested with determinations by the human

spirit, on occasion of the sensations, and of whatever feelings man experiences.

Now in order to solve the problem as to the origin in our mind of the idea of *being* we must first of all consider certain corollaries which follow from what we have explained above.

1st. The idea of *being in general* precedes all other ideas. In fact, all other ideas are only the idea of being determined in one way or another, and to determine a thing supposes that we already possess the thing to be determined.

2nd. This idea can not come from sensation or from our feelings, not only because the sensations are real, particular, and contingent (whereas this idea furnishes the mind with the knowledge of *possible being*, universal and necessary in its possibility), but also because the sensations and the feelings do not furnish to the spirit any thing except determinations of the idea of *being* by which it is limited and restricted.

3rd. It can not come from the operations of the human spirit, such as universalisation and abstraction; because these operations do no more than either add determinations to this same idea of *being*, or take them away when they have been added, and this *on occasion* of the sensations or feelings experienced.

4th. The operations of the human intelligence are only possible, if we presuppose the idea of *being*, which is the means, the instrument, employed by it to perform them, nay, the very condition of its existence.

5th. It follows that without the idea of *being* the human spirit could not only make no rational operation, but would be altogether destitute of the faculty of thought and understanding, in other words it would not be intelligent.

6th. If the human spirit were deprived of the idea of *being* it would be deprived also of intelligence ; it follows that it is this idea which constitutes it intelligent. We may therefore say that it is this same idea which constitutes the *light* of reason, and we thus discover what that *light* of reason is which has been admitted by all men, but defined by no one.

7th. And since philosophers give the name of *form* to that which constitutes a thing what it is, the idea of *being* in general may be rightly termed the *form* of the human reason or intelligence.

8th. For the same reason this idea may justly be called the *first* or *parent idea*, the idea *in se* and the *light* of the intelligence.

It is the *first* idea because anterior to all other ideas ; the *parent* idea because it generates all the others, by associating itself with the sensations and feelings by means of the operations of the human spirit. We call it the idea *in se*, because the feelings and sensations are not ideas, and our spirit is obliged to add them as so many determinations to that first idea, in order to obtain the determinate ideas.

Lastly, we call it the *light* of the intelligence, because it is knowable by itself ; whereas the sensations and feelings are cognisable by means of it, by becoming its determinations, and, as such, being rendered cognisable to the human spirit.

If these facts are attentively considered, the great problem of the origin of ideas and of all human cognitions becomes easy of solution.

But in fact this problem has been solved long ago by the common sense of mankind. For the existence in the human spirit of a *light* of reason or intelligence is admitted by the common sense of men, which declares this light of reason to be so natural and proper to man

that it constitutes the difference between him and the brutes.

Now since we have shown that this *light of reason* is nothing else but the idea of *being in general*, it follows according to the testimony of the same common sense that this idea is natural to man or proper to his nature, and therefore it is not an idea which is *formed* or acquired, but *innate* or inserted in man by nature, and presented to the spirit by the Creator Himself, by Whom man was formed.

In fact, *being* must be known of itself, or otherwise there is nothing else which could make it known ; but on the contrary every other thing is known only by means of it, for since everything else is some mode or determination of *being*, if we know not what *being* itself is, we can know nothing.¹

9. Immortality of the soul. Existence of God.

Such is our solution of the question of the origin of ideas. For all ideas, whether specific or generic, are nothing but the idea of *being* or *existence*, as determined in various ways by the sensations and operations of the human spirit. And since this one primitive idea can not be the product of these operations, since it is itself an indispensable condition of them all, we must admit that it is given to men by nature ; so that we know what *being* is without having any need of learning it,

¹ St. Thomas has said of the *light of reason*—the idea of *being*, according to Rosmini ; “ *Omnia dicimur in Deo videre, et secundum ipsum de omnibus judicare, in quantum, per participationem sui luminis omnia cognoscimus et dijudicamus. Nam et ipsum lumen naturale rationis participatio quadam est divini luminis, sicut etiam omnia sensibilia dicimur videre et judicare in sole, id est in lumine solis.*”—I. I. d. 9, xii., art xii. ad. 3. “ We are said to see all things in God, and according to Him to judge of all things, in as much as by a participation of His Light, we know and judge of all things. For the natural light of reason is itself a certain participation of the Divine light, as we are said to see and judge of all things in the sun, that is in the light of the sun.”

and we learn all other things by means of this primitive cognition.

We can not with reason ask for a definition of *being*, because it is known in and by itself, and enters into the definition of all other things. We can indeed describe it, and analyse its characteristics, but we can do nothing more.

We have seen that this idea contains the pure essence of the thing. The idea of *being*, therefore, contains and enables us to know the essence of *being*.

The essence has nothing to do with space; ideal being, therefore, is incorporeal. But this ideal being is the form of the intelligent soul, and by the simple intuition of this idea the intelligent soul subsists. Therefore the intelligent soul is incorporeal, and therefore spiritual, therefore again both incorruptible and immortal.

The essence of being has also nothing to do with time, because *being* in its essence is always *being*, and can never cease to be, since it would be a contradiction in terms for being to cease to be being. Therefore it is eternal. But it was united to the soul in time. Therefore it was before the soul existed and is independent of it. But *being* is the light of intelligence, and the light of intelligence is conditioned on the existence of that of which it is the light. Therefore there exists an intelligence anterior to human intelligence, an eternal mind. But this eternal mind is God's, therefore God exists.

The existence of God and the immortality of the soul are the two foundations of morals. For God is the end to which the immortal soul ought to tend, and this duty comprehends the whole summary of man's moral obligations, so that the abstract investigation of the origin of ideas becomes of the gravest import to the destinies of man.

CHAPTER XIV.

HARMONY OF ROSMINI WITH ST. THOMAS.

HALF a century ago Rosmini wrote the following words: "If Philosophy is to be restored to love and respect, I think it will be necessary, in part, to return to the teachings of the ancients, and in part, to give those teachings the benefit of modern methods, facility of style, a breadth of application embracing the daily wants of human life, and finally, to cement all the parts into one complete whole. The Schoolmen, now made so little of, are the link connecting the old with the modern philosophies, and deserve to be carefully studied. For, though the Scholastic philosophy in its later period became degraded, childish, and ridiculous, it was not so in its great writers, among whom it suffices to mention the prince of Italian Philosophers, St. Thomas of Aquin."¹

So wrote a great Christian philosopher, grieved to the heart at seeing the havoc caused by modern philosophy—I mean those systems which, having started from the "sensation and reflection" principle of Locke, have grown successively into the more subtle, deep, and insidious forms of *Subjectivism* of which the Kantian theory is the centre.

Rosmini's voice has been re-echoed far and wide; and now the necessity of going back to the old teachings, so profoundly and so luminously expounded by

¹ Rosmini, *Teodicea*, n. 148.

the Angelic Doctor, felt very generally among Catholic thinkers, has been authoritatively confirmed by Leo XIII., our reigning Pontiff, in his ever memorable Encyclical *Æterni Patris*, in which he enjoins the use of Thomas as the text-book for students of philosophy.

That honest and to some extent successful efforts have been made in that direction, is shown by some of the philosophical treatises now in circulation. It is very pleasing to observe in them so much that is really true and beautiful. Nevertheless, when we come to that most fundamental question—the “*origin of universals*,” or of *human ideas*; for all ideas are essentially universal in their application, some writers pass over their *origin* altogether; others try to explain “universals” by means of an undefined sort of faculty, natural to us but not naturally informed with any self-evident *light*; while others fall back upon the theory which pretends to form universal ideas by abstracting them from particular ones—an evident begging of the question. For, if our mind observing the *universal* in the *particular*, abstracts it therefrom, clearly the universal was there already; or else the mind could not observe it. So the question comes back: “How did the universal come there?”

Unless we can show how we get ideas, and how we *know* that they are true, it is like building a house of many storeys well and carefully arranged, but without a foundation; or like constructing a locomotive without giving it steam power. A main portion of the value of such books is wanting. So long as this continues, it will not be possible to establish effectually the essential *objectivity* of truth and the unassailable *certitude* of human knowledge. Consequently it will not be possible to raise on a firm basis the moral sciences, nor indeed any science whatever, natural or supernatural;

for sciences are mere phantoms if their objective truth be not placed on a basis of certainty. The shrewd *subjectivist* will smile at the good intentions, logical acumen, and erudition of these writers, but will see that they build on a foundation no better than his own.

The following Essay on "*Saint Thomas of Aquin and Ideology*," from the pen of the highly-gifted, learned, and profound Thomist, the late Bishop of Casale, in Piedmont, is a slight sketch by the author himself of what he has written in his large work in eleven octavo volumes; in which he shows, 1st, What is the light of reason by which we are capable of acquiring knowledge. 2nd, How our mind passes from being simply informed by the original light of reason to being possessed of special cognitions. 3rd, The perfect harmony, on these fundamental points of philosophy, between Rosmini, and Scripture, the Fathers, and the Schoolmen.¹

ST. THOMAS OF AQUIN AND IDEOLOGY.

Essay of the Bishop of Casale.

Good and thoughtful men, while rejoicing in the security Divinely provided for the unity of the faith, cannot but wish that a unity of sound principles in Philosophy could be established—at least in Catholic Schools. For this end they would like to see the philosophical doctrines of the Fathers of the Church, but especially of St. Thomas of Aquin, restored to their ancient seat of honour. The truth of these doctrines is admitted by the contending parties; but instead of

¹ Translations of Rosmini's *Nuovo Saggio*, on the Origin of Ideas, and of his *Psicologia* are already published by Kegan Paul, London. All the works of Rosmini in Italian may be obtained from Pavarina, of Rome, Turin, and Milan; as also the work by Monsignor Ferrè, Bishop of Casale, in eleven volumes, *Degli Universalì secondo la teoria Rosminiana, confrontata colla dottrina di San Tommaso D'Aquino*.

unanimity, we are doomed to witness a sad spectacle of division, all the more deplorable since all alike appeal to that which one would have thought the most effectual means for putting an end to dissension.

Whence does this arise? From no other cause than the different or rather contrary interpretations given to texts of these great writers severally cited by the parties in question. Where, then, is the remedy? Obviously, in respecting the true laws of interpretation. These laws are that, when it is desired to know the mind of an author, his expressions should be taken in their obvious and natural sense; that his true meaning should be gathered from the *whole* context; and the passages which are obscure should be explained by those which are clear and evident. By following these simple rules most of the contentions would cease.

This is what I now propose to show in reference to the questions of the *origin of ideas* and the *formation of universals*; which will naturally divide my essay into two parts.

Part I.—On the Origin of Ideas.

The true theory on the origin of ideas and on its kindred questions is severally claimed by three contrary Schools of thought. One pretends that man has by nature the intuition of the absolute infinite BEING—in a word—of God Himself. The other maintains that man has *innate* the *idea of being*; that is, of *being* wholly indeterminate, *Ens in communi*. The third, while denying all innate ideas, confines itself to the statement that man has naturally the power of acquiring ideas proportionate to the degree of his intelligence, without, however, telling us in what that power consists.

Respecting the first of these Schools, all I have to remark is that its view is contradicted by reason and by

experience, and, worse still, is opposed to the principles of faith. Indeed, it seems almost identical with the doctrine condemned by the Vatican Council, which has anathematized those who shall maintain that universal indefinite *being* whose various determinations give the genera, the species, and the individuals, is God.¹ The other two Schools take their stand on the authority of St. Thomas, each unhesitatingly claiming him for itself. As, however, they are directly opposed to each other, it is evident that St. Thomas cannot be with both, unless we wish to make him contradict himself. But then each side is prepared with numerous quotations from the Angelic Doctor which it is asserted are all clearly in its favour. What must we conclude from this? Surely that one of them misinterprets the teaching of the Holy Doctor. Therefore, in order to ascertain the true meaning of St. Thomas, we must consult his works and explain them in accordance with the rules of fair criticism just laid down. I shall restrict my observations to two points—that of the *Innate Idea*, and that of the formation of *Universals* from particulars; these points being, as it were, the two great hinges of the Ideological Question.

What does St. Thomas hold respecting Innate Ideas? It must be premised that he has not treated this question *ex professo*, but only touched upon it here, and there, according as he needed it for developing the theses he had in hand. It is therefore reasonable to expect that his real mind will be most apparent in those places where he has approached the question most nearly. And his words will have to be taken in their obvious and natural sense, unless a logical necessity should compel us to seek another explanation of their meaning. Nowhere has the Angelic Doctor expressed

¹ Pantheistic Ontology, or Science of *being*.

himself so clearly on the *origin of ideas* as in his two treatises, *De Magistro* and *De Veritate*. In the first article of the *De Magistro* he proposes to inquire: "whether God alone, or man also, can instruct and be called a teacher," and in the second article: "whether it may be said that man teaches himself." The first question he solves thus:—

"The same must be said as regards the acquisition of knowledge. Certain seeds of the sciences pre-exist in us, that is to say, the first intellectual conceptions, which are at once known by the *light* of the acting intellect (*intellectus agens*) through the *species* abstracted from sensible things, whether such species be complex—as the axioms—or incomplex—as the nature of *being*, of *oneness*, and such like—all which are *at once* apprehended by the intellect. From these universal principles, as from so many *seminal reasons*, all the other principles are derived. When, therefore, the mind *starts* from these universal cognitions, in order actually to know particular things which were previously known *potentially*, and as it were *in universali*, one is said to acquire knowledge."¹

What must we say of this magnificent theory of St. Thomas? Does it seem that this most acute philosopher excludes innate ideas, and not rather that he

¹ Similiter etiam dicendum est de scientiæ acquisitione, quod pre-existunt in nobis quaedam scientiarum semina, scilicet primæ conceptiones intellectus, quæ statim lumine intellectus agentis cognoscuntur per species a sensibilibus abstractas, sive sint complexa, ut dignitates, sive incomplexa, sicut ratio entis, et unius, et hujusmodi, quæ statim intellectus apprehendit. Ex istis autem principiis universalibus omnia principia sequuntur, sicut ex quibusdam rationibus seminalibus. Quando ergo ex istis universalibus cognitionibus mens educitur ut actu cognoscat particularia, quæ prius in potentia, at quasi in universali, cognoscebantur, tunc aliquis dicitur scientiam acquirere. (*St. Thom. Quaestiones Disputatae; De Veritate Quaest. xi. De Magistro, Art. i. Editio Parmæ Vol. ix., p. 183, col. 2.*)

supposes them as indispensable for the acquisition of all our knowledge?

But let us follow him: "It must be observed," he writes, "that in natural things something may pre-exist as a power in two ways: 1st, As a power active and complete, that is, when the intrinsic principle suffices by itself to produce a perfect act, as we see in the recovery of a sick man, which is brought about by his natural vital force; 2nd, As a passive power, that is to say, when the intrinsic principle is not sufficient by itself to produce the act, as for example in the case of fire kindled in the air; for this kindling is not the effect of a force existing in air itself. It follows from this that, when a thing pre-exists as a power active and complete, all that the extrinsic agent does is merely to assist the intrinsic by supplying it with what it wants for coming forth into the act. Thus the physician simply ministers to nature, which is the principal agent, by applying the remedies which nature uses as its instruments for producing recovery. But when a thing pre-exists only as a passive power, the extrinsic agent is the principal cause of drawing the act from the power, as we see in the air which, being fire in *potentia*, becomes actually ignited by the action of the fire."¹

¹ Sciendum tamen est, quod in naturalibus rebus aliquid praeexistit in potentia dupliciter. Uno modo in potentia activa completa; quando, scilicet, principium intrinsecum sufficienter potest perducere in actum perfectum, sicut patet in sanatione: ex virtute enim naturali quae est in aegro, aeger ad sanitatem perducitur. Alio modo in potentia passiva; quando, scilicet, principium intrinsecum non sufficit ad educendum in actum; sicut patet quando ex aëre fit ignis, hoc enim non potest fieri per aliquam virtutem in aëre existentem. Quando igitur praeexistit aliquid in potentia activa completa, tunc agens extrinsecum non agit: nisi adiuvando agens intrinsecum et ministrando ei ea quibus possit in actum exire; sicut medicus in sanatione est minister naturae, quae principaliter operatur confortando naturam, et apponendo medicinas, quibus velut instrumentis natura utitur ad sanationem. Quando vero aliquid praeexistit in potentia

Here one might ask : what have these observations on active and passive powers to do with our question ? I answer, very much indeed. The Saint wants to give us a palmary demonstration of the necessity and efficacy of innate universal principles for the acquisition of knowledge. Let us hear him. "Knowledge pre-exists in the learner not merely as a passive power but also as an active one; otherwise man could never acquire knowledge by himself. Even as there are two ways of recovering from sickness—one by the power of nature alone, and another by the power of nature assisted by medicine—so there are two ways of acquiring knowledge. The first is when the natural reason learns by itself what it knew not before—and this is called *invention*; the second is when the natural reason is assisted in learning by some external aid—and this is called *discipline*. Be it, however, observed that in those things which are produced concurrently by nature and by art, art acts in the same manner and by the same means as nature. For example, nature cures the affection of frigidity by caloric ; so does the physician. Hence the saying : *Art imitates nature*. The same thing happens as regards the acquisition of knowledge. Discipline helps the pupil to acquire knowledge by the same process which is followed in invention. Now the process of invention—that is of passing by oneself from the known to the unknown—consists in applying the principles which are *self-evident* to some determinate matter ; thence proceeding to certain particular conclusions, and from these to others. In the same way a person is said to teach another in this sense that he sets before him the process of reasoning natural to him.

passiva tantum, tunc agens extrinsecum est quod educit principaliter de potentia in actum, sicut ignis facit de aëre, qui est potentia ignis, actu ignem. (*St. Thom. de Magistro, Art. i. ib.*)

This he does by means of signs, which the reason of the learner uses as instruments for arriving at truths heretofore unknown. Wherefore, as the physician is said to cause health to the sick through the action of nature, even so one man is said to produce knowledge in another through the action of the natural reason of the latter. This is what is meant by teaching; consequently, a man may justly be called the teacher of another. Accordingly, Aristotle says that demonstration is a syllogism producing knowledge.”¹

Here the Angelic Doctor might have stopped; for his thesis was conclusively proved. But he would go further in order to make us see that, although a man may teach another, still the principal master is always God Himself.

¹ Scientia ergo praeexistit in addiscente, in potentia non pure passiva, sed activa; alias homo non posset per se ipsum acquirere scientiam. Sicut ergo aliquis dupliciter sanatur, uno modo per operationem naturae tantum, alio modo a natura cum adminiculo medicinae; ita etiam est duplex modus acquirendi scientiam; unus, quando naturalis ratio per se ipsam devenit in cognitionem ignotorum; et hic modus dicitur inventio: alius quando rationi naturali aliquis exterius adminiculatur, et hic modus dicitur disciplina. In his autem quae fiunt a natura et arte, eodem modo operatur ars, et per eadem media, quibus et natura. Sicut enim natura in eo qui ex frigida causa laborat, calefaciendo induceret sanitatem, ita et medicus; unde et ars dicitur imitari naturam. Similiter etiam contingit in scientiae acquisitione, quod eodem modo docens alium ad scientiam ignotorum deducit sicuti aliquis inveniendo deducit se ipsum in cognitionem ignoti. Processus autem rationis pervenientis ad cognitionem ignoti in inveniundo est ut principia communia per se nota applicet ad determinatas materias, et inde procedat in aliquas particulares conclusiones, et ex his in alias; unde et secundum hoc unus alium docere dicitur, quod istum discursum rationis, quem in se facit ratione naturali, alteri exponit per signa; et sic ratio naturalis discipuli, per huiusmodi sibi proposita, sicut per quaedam instrumenta, pervenit in cognitionem ignotorum. Sicut ergo medicus dicitur causare sanitatem in infirmo natura operante, ita etiam homo dicitur causare scientiam in alio operatione rationis naturalis illius; et hoc est docere; unde unus homo alium docere dicitur, et ejus esse magister. Et secundum hoc dicit Philosophus 1. Posteriorum (com. 5), quod demonstratio est syllogismus faciens scire (*S. Thom. de Magistro, Art 1: ib. p. 183, col. 1*).

He continues: "If any one should propose to a learner things not contained in, or not demonstrable by the principles which are *self-evident*, such a one would not produce knowledge in the learner. He would only produce opinion, or faith, although even this depends in some manner on the *innate* principles. For it is by virtue of those principles that a man understands that those things which necessarily follow from them must be admitted as a certainty; that those which are opposed to them must be rejected altogether; and that, as to other things, he may either give or withhold his assent. With regard to the *light* of reason by which such principles are manifestly known, it is *placed in us* (*inditum*) by God, by way of a certain similitude of the uncreated Truth. Inasmuch, therefore, as all human knowledge has its efficacy from that *light*, it is evident that God alone teaches interiorly and principally, in the same manner as nature interiorly and principally works the recovery of the sick. Nevertheless man is said with propriety to heal, and to teach, in the sense aforesaid." ¹

The identical doctrine is repeated by St. Thomas in the second article of the same question *De Magistro*. In reply to the query: "Whether man may be said to teach

¹ Si autem aliquis alicui proponat ea quae in principiis *per se notis* non includuntur, vel includi non manifestantur; non faciet in eo scientiam, sed forte opinionem, vel fidem; quamvis etiam hoc aliquo modo ex principiis *innatis* causetur; ex ipsis enim principiis per se notis considerat, quod ea quae ex eis necessario consequuntur, sunt certitudinaliter tenenda; quae vero eis sunt contraria, totaliter respuenda; aliis autem assensum praebere potest, vel non. Hujusmodi autem rationis *lumen*, quo principia hujusmodi sunt nobis nota, est nobis a Deo *inditum*, quasi quaedam similitudo Increatae Veritatis in nobis resultantis. Unde cum omnis doctrina humana efficaciam habere non possit nisi ex virtute illius luminis; constat quod solus Deus est qui interius et principaliter docet, sicut natura interius etiam principaliter sanat; nihilominus tamen et sanare et docere proprie dicitur modo praedicto (*St. Thom. de Magistro, Art. i. ib., p. 114, col. 1*).

himself?" he says: "Certainly, a man may discover many unknown things with the *innate light of reason* independently of external teaching; as we see in all those who acquire knowledge by invention. In this way a man is the cause of knowledge to himself. Nevertheless, he cannot be strictly called his own instructor and master. . . . For active instruction imports a perfect actuality of knowledge in the instructor. Hence it is necessary that he should possess explicitly and perfectly the knowledge which he wishes to communicate to his pupil. But he who acquires knowledge by his own study, does not start with the full knowledge ready made, but only with an *initial* knowledge, that is, with the *seminal reasons* or the *common principles*. Consequently he is not entitled to the name of instructor and master in a strict sense."¹

It must be admitted that this demonstration is truly marvellous and well worthy of the Angel of the Schools. There can be no mistake as to his opinion about the origin of human cognitions, and as to the great importance he attached to this mode of solving the question. I will make a few observations on it. 1st, His reasoning rests entirely on the distinction between a knowledge

¹ Absque dubio aliquis potest per *lumen rationis sibi inditum*, absque exterioris doctrinae magisterio vel adminiculo, devenire in cognitionem ignotorum multorum; sicut patet in omni eo qui per inventionem scientiam acquirit; et sic quodammodo aliquis est sibi ipsi causa sciendi; non tamen potest dici sui ipsius magister, vel se ipsum docere. . . . Doctrina autem importat perfectam actionem scientiae in docente vel magistro; unde oportet quod ille qui docet vel magister est, habeat scientiam quam in alio causat, explicite et perfecte, sicut in addiscente per doctrinam. Quando autem alicui acquiritur scientia per principium intrinsecum, illud quod est causa agens scientiae, non habet scientiam acquirendam, nisi in parte; scilicet quantum ad *rationes seminales* scientiae, quae sunt *principia communia*; et ideo ex tali causalitate non potest trahi nomen doctoris, vel magistri, proprie loquendo (*St. Thom. de Magistro, Art ii. ib., p. 186, col. 1*).

which is *innate* or natural, and a knowledge which is *acquired*. He teaches clearly that the latter derives all its efficacy and indeed its very possibility from the former. 2d, His natural and innate knowledge is not a mere *potentiality* but a something *actually existing*.

As many persons are of a different opinion, I will quote another text in which the Holy Doctor explains himself so fully as to leave no room for doubt as to his real meaning. In the fourth lesson of his commentary on the third book of Aristotle *De Anima*, he writes : "No power passes into action except by something which is in action. It is so with our power of knowing. However much we may study or be taught, we can acquire no *actual cognition* except by virtue of some actually *pre-existing* knowledge, whence that cognition is generated." ¹

It is evident that, according to St. Thomas, if we deny all *innate* ideas, that is, some kind of knowledge to start from, we annihilate the power of acquiring any knowledge whatever. 3rd, The Angelic Doctor describes in beautiful order the process of human cognitions. First of all, he says, there is the *light* of reason placed in man by God, as a resplendent similitude of the *first truth*. Then come the *common* and *universal principles*, which are also *self-evident* and *innate* because contained in the *light* of reason. Yet we do not apprehend them distinctly until the mind by the aid of *sensations* perceives the material *terms* to which they are applied.

But it may be objected : Why then does St. Thomas,

¹ Quod in potentia est, non reducitur in actum nisi per aliquod quod est in actu. Et sic etiam de potentia sciente, non fit aliquis sciens actu, inveniendō, neque discendo, nisi per aliquam scientiam præexistentem in actu ; quia omnis doctrina et disciplina intellectiva fit ex præexistenti cognitione (*De Anima*. l. iii., *Lect. x. Opera*, Ed. Parmæ, Vol. xx. p. 123, col. 2).

after affirming that the principles relating to the *Ens* and the *Unum* are innate, say that these principles become known by means of the ideas drawn from sensible things? Does not this seem to imply that they are innate only in *potentia*, and begin to exist only when the mind abstracts them from the species received through the senses? Not so, I answer; St. Thomas himself repudiates such interpretation. For in the sixth lesson on the fourth book of the metaphysics of Aristotle he says: "The first principles are manifested by the *natural light* of the *intellectus agens* itself; nor are they acquired by reasoning, but simply by our becoming acquainted with their *terms*. This happens because from the sensible *species* we derive memory, from memory experiment, from experiment the knowledge of the terms, knowing which *terms* we apprehend also the common propositions which are the principles of the arts and sciences."¹

To the first idea of truth in its most universal sense, and to the common principles therein contained, and which are developed out of it through the *species* abstracted from sensible things, succeed all the other cognitions, which we acquire by applying the *innate* and *universal* principles. This exposition of the nature and development of the human intelligence accords entirely with the most rigorous logic and with the data of experience.

8. As a further proof that the above is the genuine teaching of the Angelical Doctor on *innate ideas*, I will

¹ Ex ipso *lumine naturali* intellectus agentis prima principia fiunt cognita, nec acquiruntur per ratiocinationes, sed solum per hoc quod eorum termini innotescunt. Quod quidem fit per hoc, quod a sensibilibus accipitur memoria, et a memoria experimentum, et ab experimento illorum terminorum cognitio, quibus cognitis cognoscuntur hujusmodi propositiones communes, quae sunt artium et scientiarum principia (*Metaphysic. l. Lect. vi. Opera ib., p. 353, col. 2*).

adduce another quotation from the question, *De Veritate*, Art. IV. His object there is to prove that truth is manifold. Against this an objection was brought from the doctrine of St. Augustine, who says that, forasmuch as truth is superior to our mind, and dwells in God, truth ought to be one, for God is one. Here is his answer: "What makes the soul fit to judge of all things is the first truth. For as the *innate ideas* of things flow into the angelic intelligences from the *truth* of the Divine Mind, and by the *light* of those ideas they know all that they know; so is our mind illumined by the *truth* of the Divine Mind—with the truth of the first principles, according to which truth we judge of all things. And as it cannot serve us for making judgments except in so far as it is a similitude of the first truth, even so it is right to say that we judge according to the first truth." The comparison of man with the angels is very noteworthy. No one certainly will deny that, according to St. Thomas, the angels are illumined with *innate ideas*. But if so, we must needs concede that, according to him, man also is possessed of an innate idea; for he teaches most clearly that "man receives from the Divine Mind one innate idea even as the angels receive many."¹

We must then discard altogether the wonderful treatise of the Holy Doctor on created intelligences, or accept this conclusion.

Lest the great theory of the Angelical Doctor should

¹ Veritas, secundum quam anima de omnibus judicat, est veritas prima. Sicut enim a veritate intellectus Divini effluunt in intellectum angelicum *species rerum innatae*, secundum quas omnia cognoscit; ita a veritate intellectus Divini exemplariter procedit in intellectum nostrum *veritas* primorum principiorum, secundum quam de omnibus judicamus. Et quia per eam judicare non possumus nisi secundum quod est similitudo primae veritatis; ideo secundum primam veritatem de omnibus dicimur judicare (*S. Thom. ib., Quaest., i., art. iv., ad 5, p. 11, col. i.*).

be misunderstood, I am anxious to impress very clearly the fact that his admission of the innateness of the common principles and the seminal causes of knowledge is not synonymous with the admission of *many innate* ideas, and of any *special* cognitions supplied by them. For he says distinctly that there is but *one innate idea*—that of *truth*, or of *being*, taken in the most universal sense ; and likewise that this one idea, being entirely indeterminate, gives to man no *special* cognition whatever. His declarations on this head are perfectly clear. In the passages already quoted from the *De Magistro*, he declares that the light of reason is placed in us by God ; and that this light contains indeed the common principles, but only virtually, or in such a way that, in order that these principles be developed, the mind must, through sensation, perceive the terms to which they are applied, and finally, that all knowledge derives its objective validity from this light alone. And so in the other passage, when he compares the human with the angelic intellect, he says that man receives naturally from God the *similitude*, that is to say the *idea* of the first truth. Therefore he admits as innate the first idea only, the most elementary of all, that which is the origin and the foundation of all the others.

If I am asked, "What is this first and innate idea ?" I answer that it is the "idea of *being* (of existence pure and simple) ; for in the first part of the *Summa*, quest. 16th, art. 3rd, he says : "as *being* is a convertible term with *good*, so it is a convertible term with *truth*. Nevertheless, it is not convertible with both in the same sense. For, while good is *being* in so far as appetible, truth is *being* in so far as intelligible."¹

¹ Sicut bonum convertitur cum *ente*, ita et *verum*. Sed tamen sicut *bonum* addit rationem appetibilis supra *ens*, ita et *verum* comparisonem et intellectum (*S. Thom. Summa I. Quaest. xvi., art. iii.*).

And in the first art. of the quest. *De Veritate* he writes: "*Being* is that which the intellect conceives as most known, and into which it resolves all its conceptions."¹

Consequently, this *light*, this *truth*, this innate *idea*, being wholly indeterminate and most universal, does not by itself produce any *special* cognition in the mind.

The Holy Doctor takes great pains solidly to establish this view. In the *Summa*, part 1, quest. 55, art. 2, he says: "The lower intelligent substances, namely the human souls, have an intellectual power naturally incomplete. It becomes gradually completed in proportion as they receive the intelligible *species* from *things*. But in the superior intelligent substances, *i.e.*, the angels, the intellectual power is naturally complete, inasmuch as the intelligible *species* by which they understand everything which they can know according to their nature, are *connatural* to them. This is seen also by the different manner of the being respectively belonging to these substances. For human souls have a being akin to the body, inasmuch as they are the forms of their respective bodies. Accordingly, in order to attain to their intellectual perfection they require the instrumentality of their bodies. Were it not so, their union with bodies would be purposeless. On the contrary, the superior intelligences are entirely disengaged from bodies—their substances being purely immaterial and intellectual; hence they receive their intellectual perfection from intelligible *species* which are communicated to them by God together with the intellectual nature."²

¹ Illud quod primo intellectus concipit quasi notissimum, et in quo omnes conceptiones resolvit, est *ens* (*S. Thom. Quaest. disputat Quaest. I. De Veritate. art. 1., p. 6, col. 1*).

² Inferiores substantiae intellectivae, scilicet animae humanae, habent potentiam intellectivam non completam naturaliter; sed completur in eis

To understand fully this splendid passage, we must observe that according to St. Thomas (as he explains in the *Summa*, part I, quest. 85, art. 3rd), the cognition is incomplete when it apprehends the thing only in *universalis*, and it is complete when it refers to *particular* things. Such being the case, it is evident that by affirming that the human soul has *naturally* the idea of being in *universalis*, he does not attribute to it any special cognition, because, that idea being most indeterminate, constitutes an intellectual power extremely incomplete, and therefore utterly insufficient, by itself, to give any kind of *determinateness* to human knowledge.

After these observations we can understand why St. Thomas, although teaching repeatedly that the human mind is naturally illumined by truth, or has the intuition of ideal being in *universalis*, says in many places that all knowledge begins by the senses, and that the soul before acquiring knowledge is like a *tabula rasa*, with nothing written upon it. By these propositions, far from contradicting himself, he explains the true doctrine under all its various aspects. In fact, if the most universal innate idea shows us nothing special, if it can be developed only through sensation, therefore all

successive per hoc quod accipiunt species intelligibiles a rebus. Potentia vero intellectiva in substantiis spiritualibus superioribus, id est in Angelis, naturaliter completa est per species intelligibiles connaturales in quantum habent species intelligibiles connaturales ad omnia intelligenda quae naturaliter cognoscere possunt. Ex hoc etiam ex ipso modo essendi huiusmodi substantiarum apparet. Substantiae enim spirituales inferiores, scilicet animae, habent esse affine corpori, in quantum sunt corporum formae; et ideo ex ipso modo essendi competit eis ut a corporibus, et per corpora suam perfectionem intelligibilem consequantur; alioquin, frustra corporibus unirentur. Substantiae vero superiores, id est Angeli sunt a corporibus totaliter absolutae, immaterialiter et in esse intelligibili subsistentes; et ideo suam perfectionem intelligibilem consequuntur per intelligibilem effluxum, quo a Deo species rerum cognitarum acceperunt simul cum intellectuali natura.—*S. Thom. Summa I. Quaest. lv, art. ii.*

determinate knowledge begins by means of the senses; and therefore, before acquiring such knowledge, the mind is, as has just been said, a *tabula rasa*. But this does not do away with the *innate idea*, nor with the fact of its being the principle of the human intelligence, nor of its constituting the *formal* part of the human cognitions, the office of the senses being merely to contribute the *material* part. So far as regards *Innate Ideas*.

In fact, St. Thomas, although adopting from Aristotle the similitude of the *tabula rasa*, together with the axiom, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu," "there is nothing in the intellect that was not first in the sense," would almost seem to have foreseen that some of his interpreters would endeavour to draw therefrom sensistic conclusions opposed to his doctrine concerning the *innate idea*. And so he has taken care to explain the meaning of these scholastic terms. "So far, only," he says, "the knowledge of the mind is said to have its origin from the senses, *not* because the sense apprehends everything the mind knows, but because from those things which the sense apprehends, the mind is led to further knowledge."¹ Nor was St. Thomas alone in his apprehension lest these axioms improperly understood should be made to mean what they were never intended to express. For St. Bonaventure, who taught in the Schools contemporarily with the Angelic Doctor, explains in precisely the same sense as the latter, the true meaning of these much abused terms. "It is asked," says he, "whether all knowledge comes from the senses. And the answer is *no*. For it must be laid down that the soul knows both God and herself, and what she knows in herself

¹ "Protantum dicitur cognitio mentis a sensu originem habere, *non quod omne quod mens cognoscit sensus apprehendit*, sed quia ex his quae sensus apprehendit mens in aliqua ulteriora manuducitur.—*De Mente*, art. vi.

without the instrumentality of the external senses.”¹ And again, with reference to the *tabula rasa*, he says, “The knowledge of *happiness* and of many natural things, as, for instance, of *numbers*, is *naturally innate* within us, so that, if the soul is said to be a *tabula rasa*, this is understood only in as much as regards ideas and images which *she acquires through the senses*.”² And, speaking elsewhere on the same subject, St. Bonaventure attributes this doctrine to St. Augustine himself. “It is well worthy of note,” he observes, in explaining the above axioms of Aristotle, “that the Philosopher says that nothing is written in the soul, *not* that there is *no knowledge* in her, but because there is *no picture*. And this is what Augustine says in his book *De Civitate Dei*, ‘God has placed in us a noble breast-plate of Judgment, wherein it is known in the book of Light, which is Truth itself, what is lightsome and what is darksome; for the Truth is *naturally* impressed in the heart of man.’ An instance of this is the *tabula rasa*, which is without any picture, but which is capable of receiving any.”³

I now come to *the Abstraction of Universals*.

¹ “Quaeritur utrum omnis cognitio sit a sensu. Et dicendum est quod *non*. Necessario enim oportet ponere quod anima novit Deum et seipsam, et quae in seipsa sine adminiculo sensuum exteriorum.”—*Sent. Distinct. xxxix., a. i., q. ii.*

² “Cognitio beatitudinis et multarum rerum naturalium utpote *numeri* naturalis nobis *innata est*, et si anima dicatur esse ut *tabula rasa*, hoc intelligitur solum quantum ad species et similitudines quas acquirit per sensus.”—4 *Sent. Dist. xlix., a. i., q. ii.*

³ “Valde notabiliter dicit Philosophus, quod in anima nihil scriptum est, non quia nulla in ea sit notitia sed quia nulla est in ea *pictura*, hoc similitudo abstracta. Et hoc est quod dicit Augustinus in libro de Civitate Dei, Inseruit nobis Deus nobile Judicatorium, ubi quid sit lucis quid tenarum cognoscitur in *libro lucis* qui *Veritas* est, quia Veritas in corde hominum *naturaliter* est impressa.”—*Lib. Sent. Dist. xxxix., art. i., q. ii.* “Cujus exemplum est *tabula* nullam habens picturam, protest tamen quamcumque.”—*Compend. Dialog. Verit. lib. 2, c. 46.*

Part II. How universals are formed.

Our inquiry will be facilitated by premising three observations.

1st. The Angel of the Schools, while admitting that the idea of indeterminate *being* is *innate* in man, says also that *the universal* stands before the human mind prior to all particular cognitions.

Besides the conclusive evidence on this point already brought under notice in the first part, the following remarkable passages of St. Thomas are worthy of close attention. "The *first thing* that is presented to the imagination of the intellect is *being*, without which nothing can be apprehended by the intellect—whence all other things in a certain manner are *together* and *indistinctly* included in *being* as in their principle."¹ And again: "That which the mind first conceives as the thing most of all known to it, and to which it reduces all its cognitions, is *being*, whence it is necessary that all other concepts of the mind be received as an addition to *being*. The soul can proceed to understand *nothing* unless those things are supposed of which the knowledge is *innate*."²

2nd. This *universal*, according to St. Thomas, is not an *act* of the intellect, nor a *quality* of the intelligent subject, but an *object seen* by the mind. In fact, he declares that "the object of the intellect is *being* or *common truth*."³

¹ Primum quod cadit in imaginatione intellectus est Ens, sine quo nihil potest apprehendi ab intellectu . . . unde omnia alia includuntur quodammodo in *ente* unite et indistincte sicut in principio.—*In Sent. Dist. viii., q. i., a. iii.*

² Illud quod primo intellectus concipit quasi notissimum, et in quo omnes conceptiones resolvit est Ens, unde oportet quod omnes aliæ conceptiones intellectus accipiantur in additione ad Ens. Ad *nihil* intelligendum anima potest procedere nisi ex suppositione illorum quorum cognitio est *innata*.—*Lib. in Sent. Dist. xlix., a. i.*

³ Objectum intellectus est ens vel verum commune.—*St. Thom. Summa i., Quæst. lv., art. i.*

This distinction between the intellect and its natural object is clearly laid down by the Angelic Doctor in those other words of his where he says, "In the human intellect the *similitudo* of the thing understood is different from the *substantia* of the intellect ;"¹ as again also where he distinguishes the *mind* from its *form*, which is the same thing as its Light whereby it is made intellect. "The human intellect," he says, "has a certain *form*, i.e., the *intelligible light itself*."² This being the case, no wonder if St. Augustine declares that the *mind* must on no account be confounded with its *object*. "No creature, indeed," says he, "although rational, is illuminated by itself, but is lit up by a participation of the Eternal Truth ; say, therefore, that you are *not* your own light : at most you are the eye, but you are not the *light*."³ And again he says, "The light of men is the light of minds. The light of minds is *above* the minds, and *exceeds* all minds." Epist. 3."

Therefore, the *universal* (i.e., ideal *being* or *common truth*) cannot be confounded with the mind which sees it, otherwise the *object* would be confounded with the *subject*—a contradiction in terms. Besides, in all the places where he teaches that the human intellect knows the *truth*, the *common principles*, the *moral law*, he assumes as an undoubted fact that these *universals* (for such they are) cannot in any way—that is, neither as *objects* of direct nor of reflex knowledge, be *acts* of the

¹ In intellectu humano *similitudo* rei intellectae est aliud a *substantia* intellectus.—*In Sent. ii. lib. Dist. iii., quest. iii., a. i.*

² Intellectus humanus habet aliquam *formam* scilicet *ipsum intelligibile lumen*.—*I. II. q. cix., a. i.*

³ Nulla quippe creatura quamvis rationalis a seipso illuminatur, sed participatione sempiternae veritatis accenditur. Dic ergo quia tu tibi Lumen non es ; ut multum oculus es, lumen non es.—*St. Aug. viii., De Verbis Domini.*

⁴ Lux hominum est lux mentium. Lux mentium supra mentes est et excedit omnes mentes.—*Epist. iii., St. Augustinus.*

mind or *qualities* of it. On no other hypothesis could he be conceived to speak of them (as he always does) as *objects* present and superior to the mind. To give but one instance. In the third book of his *Summa contra Gentes* he says: "Forasmuch as the law is nothing but a certain reason and rule of action, it can be imposed only on beings capable of understanding such *reason*. But to understand belongs alone to rational creatures. Therefore, the law ought to be given to rational creatures only."¹

I need not say that this rule, to which each singular human action is to be conformed, is an *universal*. But were we to admit that this *universal* is an act of the mind itself, the law would be destroyed. For, according to the Holy Doctor, the law stands to the acts of man, and consequently to his mind, in the same relation as a measure stands to the thing measured, or a rule to the thing ruled. Now if the measure and the rule were identical with the thing measured and ruled, there could be no such relation; consequently in our supposition there could be no law. Add to this that the very idea of law implies a superiority over those bound by the law. If you take away this superiority, and remove all distinction between the *law* and its *subject*, the law is gone, unless indeed you should be prepared to maintain the absurd proposition that the subject is at one and the same time superior and inferior to itself.

3d. According to St. Thomas the *universal* is not the substance of *real* beings; it does not include their *reality* at all; it does not exist *out of the mind* which contemplates it. That the *universal* is not the substance of

¹ Quum lex nihil aliud sit quam quaedam ratio, et regula operandi: illis solum convenit dari legem qui sui operis rationem cognoscunt. Hoc autem convenit solum rationali creaturae. Soli igitur rationali creaturae fuit conveniens dari legem.—*St. Thom. Contra Gentes, Lib. iii., Cap. cxiv.*

real beings, nor indeed any substance at all, appears plainly from the 15th lesson on the 7th book of the *Metaphysics of Aristotle*, where our Holy Doctor writes : "The universal is common to many, that is, its nature is to belong to and be predicated of many. Now, if the universal were a *substance*, to what would that substance belong? Evidently, either to all the things in which the universal is found, or only to one of them! Now it cannot belong to all, for one substance cannot be many substances; nor again can it belong exclusively to one, because in that case all the other things in which the universal is found would be identical with that of which the universal is the substance. In other words, an universal is not the substance of anything."¹

This argument is so clear and so unanswerable that it seems impossible to take exception to it.

Not less forcible is the way in which St. Thomas proves that the *universal* does not include the *reality* of the things to which it relates. We find it in *Opusc.* 48th, on the *Ten Predicaments*, 2d chap., where he says: "In creatures, the essence (*which is an universal*) and the actuality or subsistence (*which is particular*) differ as two really different entities. In fact, that which is not contained in the essence of a thing differs really from that thing. But *actuality* or *subsistence* does not belong to the essence of things; for when we give the definition of an object we indicate its entire essence, that is, we mention the *genus* and the *difference*, but we

¹ *Universale* est commune multis; hoc enim dicitur universale, quod natum est multis inesse et de multis praedicari. Si ergo *universale* est *substantia*, oportet quod sit substantia omnium quibus inest, aut unius. Non est autem possibile quod sit substantia omnium; quia unum non potest esse substantia pluribus. . . . Sed si dicatur, quod sit substantia unius eorum quibus inest, oportet quod omnia sint illud unum, quibus ponitur esse substantia. . . . Relinquitur ergo, quod ex quo universale non potest esse substantia omnium de quibus dicitur, nec unius alicujus, quod nullius est substantia.—*Metaphysic*, c. vii. *Lect. xiii.*, p. 498, col. 1.

say nothing as to whether the object defined *subsists* or not. This is evident, for we cannot understand a thing unless we apprehend all that belongs to its *essence*; whereas it is a fact that I understand the thing, a rose for instance, even though I do not know whether the rose *subsist* or not. Therefore, actuality or *subsistence* differs really from *essence*;" or, what comes to the same, the *universal* does not include in itself the *reality* of beings.¹

Lastly, that universals do not exist out of the mind which has the intuition of them, is most unmistakably declared by the Saint in numberless places. I shall content myself with the following. In *Opusc.* 55 he writes: "*Universals* as such, do not exist in sensible things; for even their sensibility is in the soul, and no ways in them."²

From these remarks I draw three evident conclusions; 1st, Those must be in error who understand St. Thomas to say that the human intellect abstracts the universals from sensible things by a power natural to it, but without being *naturally illumined* by the *first universal* which implicitly contains all the others. By their interpretation, the first operation of the intellect, which should be drawn from the very fount of all

¹ In creaturis esse essentiae et esse actualis existentiae differunt realiter, ut duae diversae res. Quod sic patet: illud enim quod est extra essentiam alicui differt realiter ab ea. Esse autem actualis existentiae est extra essentiam rei, nam definitio indicat totam essentiam rei. . . . Quia in definitione ponitur solum genus et differentia, et nulla fit mentio utrum res definita existat vel non existat. Apparet hoc manifeste. Nam impossibile est posse intelligere aliquam rem, non intelligendo ea quae sunt de essentia ejus. Tamen constat quod ego intelligo rosam non intelligendo utrum *actu* sit vel non. Ergo actu esse, vel esse actualis existentiae differt realiter ab essentia (*Opusc.* xlv. (ed. Romana xlviii.) de totius Logicae Aristotelis Summa. Tract. ii. Cap. ii., p. 63).

² *Universalia* ex hoc quod sunt universalia non habent esse per se in sensibilibus, quia sensibilitas ipsa est in anima, et nullo modo in rebus. —*Opusc.* l., p. 129 (col. 2 ed. Romana lv.).

evidence in order that the light may be diffused over the whole series of acquired cognitions, is an act done without light and without sight; 2nd, To attribute to the Holy Doctor the opinion that the *universals* exist in the *particulars*, or that the *universals* are simply *subjective acts or qualities* of the human mind, is simply to misinterpret him; 3rd, So also are those mistaken who quote his authority to prove that the intellect acts directly on the *realities* of things, and on their *sensible species*, in abstracting the *universals* from them; for the *universals* themselves (of which man has a natural intuition in the way aforesaid) are the only means by which the mind can know *real things* and judge of them.

These erroneous views of the doctrine of St. Thomas being excluded, it remains to be seen briefly: 1st, What operation of the intellect (according to him) precedes abstraction; 2nd, How the abstraction itself is performed?

As we have seen, he teaches that the knowledge which the human soul has by nature, is incomplete in this sense that the idea of *being* (or the natural light of our intellect) inasmuch as it is wholly *indeterminate* gives us no special cognitions. He also says that the soul is united with a body for this very purpose that it may be able to complete its knowledge; in other words, that it may by means of the senses come to know *determinate* or particular things. Conformably to this theory, he also declares that man's knowledge is completed by applying the common and self-evident principles, contained in the idea of indeterminate being, to *determinate* matters, that is, to the data of sensation, and hence drawing conclusions, and from these other conclusions again and again.

But how do we apply *common principles* to *determinate*

matters? Certainly through a *judgment*. For to apply, means to unite one thing to another, and in logic the *predicate* (the universal qualities represented by the common principles) and the *subject* (the sensible impressions caused by the subsistent determinate matter) are united only by a judgment. This judgment is always found in the *intellectual perception*, by means of which we conclude the *subsistence of real things* of which we knew nothing before. The necessity of this application of the universal ideas to the data of sensation in order to acquire knowledge, is stated so expressly and so repeatedly by the Saint, that one would think no one can mistake his mind on the subject. In quest. x., art. 6, *de mente*, he thus expresses himself: "The *sensible forms*, that is, the forms abstracted from sensible things, cannot act on our mind, except in so far as they are rendered immaterial by the light of the *intellectus agens*, or *acting intellect*, and thus rendered in some way homogeneous with the *intellectus possibilis* or *possible intellect* whereon they act." ¹

But how can sensible things be rendered immaterial and homogeneous with the intellect? ² Undoubtedly by applying the universal idea of *being* to them, and in that *being* observing the determinations or particularities belonging to each. Thus our intellect apprehends the *universal* directly (by intuition), and *singular* things indirectly, through having its reflection drawn to them

¹ *Formae sensibiles*, vel a sensibilibus abstractae, non possunt agere in mentem nostram, nisi quatenus per lumen *intellectus agentis* immateriales redduntur, et sic efficiuntur quodammodo homogeneae *intellectui possibili* in quem agunt.—*De Veritate, Quaest. x. de Mente Art. vi. ad i. Edit. Parmae, vol. ix. d. 164, col. 1.*

² Our sensation of sight, *e.g.*, produces from the phenomena outside us, a material image on the retina of our eye, this is reproduced as a spiritual image or phantasm in the imaginative faculty, as it were, on the tablet of the spirit, to this we apply the idea of *being*, and so obtain *universal ideas*.—ED.

by sensation, in other words through the *primitive judgment*; agreeably to the statement of the Holy Doctor, S. I. quest. 86, art. 1. It follows from this that, in the process of the human intelligence, the first operation is the *intellectual perception*, which applies the *universal* to the data of sensation. Then comes *abstraction*, which draws the *universal*, not from the *real things* (in which it does not exist, and upon which the mind has no power to act), but from the *intelligible species* which have been acquired through the intellectual perception. The Holy Doctor says as much: "The *phantasms* are first illumined by the *intellectus agens* (here we have perception), and then again the same *intellectus agens* abstracts from them the intelligible species" (here we have abstraction) (*S. I. Quaest. lxxxv. Art. 1*).¹

Although the mind can know particular things through the universal idea only, nevertheless, on first perceiving them, its attention is so concentrated on them that it does not reflect on the *universal*. Now, the attention of the mind to real and determinate things would stop at this stage, were it not for the various *stimuli* which excite the human subject to action. One of the effects of these *stimuli* is to withdraw the attention of the mind from the *subsistence* of the things it has perceived. And this is the first degree of abstraction. It is called *universalization*, for the reason that it leaves before the mind the *intelligible species* by itself alone, that is, not as designating exclusively the *individual thing* which fell under the senses, but as applicable to all the individuals of the same *species*. This operation is also expounded by the

¹ Phantasmata et illuminantur ab intellectu agente, et iterum ab eis per virtutem intellectus agentis species intelligibiles abstrahuntur.—*St. Thom. Summa. I. Quaest. lxxxv. Art. 1.*

Angelical Doctor, saying: "When the intellect apprehends the intelligible *form*, or the *quiddity*, as determinate to a certain given *matter*, for example, when it apprehends *humanity* as actualized in a particular case—say in *this* flesh, in *these* bones, &c., then the intellect fixing its attention on the concrete, *e.g.*, on this particular man, understands the *particular*, and attributes *particularity* to it. It is not so when the intellect looks at a form not as determined to some particular matter; the one form being applicable to any number of individuals, the intellect attributes universality to it; hence in the case alleged we have universal man."¹

Why is *universalisation* the first degree of abstraction? Because the only element which the mind drops is the *subsistence* of the object which it had received. For the rest, the *species* of the object remains before the mind in full, as for instance in the above case, the whole of the constituents of the man and all his qualities. But to this first degree of abstraction succeed innumerable other degrees, according as the mind withdraws its reflection, not only from the act of subsistence, as just said, but also from such among the common qualities found in the thing represented by the idea, as constitute more or less wide *species* and *genera*, until it reaches that most fundamental and universal of all conceptions without which we could not think at all

¹ Quando intellectus intelligit praedictam (sc. illud quod intellectus intelligit de re) formam seu quidditatem ut est determinata ad hanc materiam, puta humanitatem ut est in hac materia signata, scilicet in his carnibus et in his ossibus et hujusmodi; tunc faciendo concretum, puta hunc hominem, intelligit singulare, et huic attribuit intentionem singularitatis. Si vero dictam formam intelligit non ut est determinata ad hanc materiam, quia omnis talis forma de se plurificabilis est ad hanc et ad illam materiam; habenti talem formam intellectus attribuit intentionem universalitatis, unde homo est universale (*Opusc. (Ed. Parmae, xlv. Ed. Romana xlviii.) de totius Logicae Aristotelis Summa. Tract i. Cap. ii. vol. xvii. p. 55, col. 2*).

—I mean the idea of *being*. These modes of abstraction are thus described by the Angelical Doctor in his treatise on the *Powers of the Soul*: ““Now the separations resulting from the abstraction of which we speak do not take place in the thing themselves, but in the thought alone. For, as in the sensitive powers, we find that although certain things be united together in reality, nevertheless the sight or any other of the senses can perceive some of those things without the other; even so, and for a much greater reason it may happen as regards the intellect; for, although that which distinguishes a *species* and a *genus* is never realised except in an individual, nevertheless the mind may apprehend one without apprehending the other. For example, we may apprehend animal in general without thinking of man, ox, ass, or any other species of animal; again we may apprehend man without apprehending Socrates or Plato; so also we may apprehend flesh and bones, without apprehending this particular flesh, or these particular bones.”¹

It is clear, then, that according to St. Thomas, the intellect, as such, always looks at abstract forms, *i.e.*, those which are more elevated, without noticing the inferior ones, except as occasions arise to direct its attention to them.

Innumerable other texts could be added, proving

¹ *Ista autem abstractio non est intelligenda secundum rem, sed secundum rationem. Sicut enim videmus in potentiis sensitivis, quod licet aliqua sint conjuncta secundum rem, tamen illorum sic conjunctorum visus vel alius sensus potest unum apprehendere altero non apprehenso . . . ; sic multo fortius potest esse in potentia intellectiva; quia licet principia speciei vel generis nunquam sint nisi in individuis, tamen potest apprehendi animal sine homine, asino et aliis speciebus; et potest apprehendi homo non apprehenso Socrate vel Platone; et caro et ossa . . . non apprehensis his carnibus et ossibus.—Opuscul. xl. Cap. vi., vol. xvii., p. 31, col. 2. Ed. Romana Opusc. xliii.*

more and more conclusively that the theory so far explained, on the origin of human cognitions and on abstractions, is the one held by the Angel of the Schools, but the passages already quoted would seem quite enough to settle the matter.

Fully agreeing with those who affirm that the unity of Catholic teaching, so desirable and necessary, cannot be secured except by taking the great Catholic Tradition for our guide, I have diligently studied the immortal writings of St. Thomas, the principal exponent of that tradition ; I have searched the places in which he touches most nearly on the arduous questions agitated now-a-days ; I have interpreted his expressions in their obvious and natural sense ; I have endeavoured to preserve to his testimonies the sense demanded by the logical order of the questions which he was treating ; I have sought light from their context, and explained such propositions as seemed to convey an obscure and uncertain sense, by those where the sense was evident. The result has been that I have found that philosophy¹ of which I have given a rapid sketch in this discourse. I have considered this system, and I have seen that it is perfectly free from the grave errors which corrupt modern science to so alarming an extent. In it I have discovered a philosophy which shows the true dignity of man, who, as St. Augustine says, is attached immediately to TRUTH ; a philosophy which indicates how man, according to St. Bonaventure, possesses an immutable rule for judging of all mutable things ; and last though not least, a philosophy which lays down an indestructible basis for the logical, moral, and social orders. I pray fervently that all men of study may become acquainted with this salutary philosophy, and

¹ The Bishop of Casale refers in this place to the *Philosophy of Rosmini*, of which his vast work in eleven volumes, which has been mentioned above, is the most complete vindication.

through it, renouncing all divisions of opinion, and all strife of schools, work together in that unity which is the most valuable characteristic of Truth. Let this philosophy be adopted, and it will be found a most faithful handmaid to theology. We are told in the Gospel that the Word of God enlightens every man that cometh into this world. This is true not less as regards Reason, than as regards Faith. It is the Divine Word Who, while keeping His Essence at present veiled from us, raises our mind by nature to the intuition of *Ideal Truth*. And it is the same Divine Word Who infuses into us the light of Faith, and gives us, in His Supreme Vicar, the Roman Pontiff, an infallible exponent of the Deposit of Faith. Between these two orders of truth, both proceeding from the same Divine source, there can be no collision ; there must be an entire harmony, and the inferior must serve the superior. Therefore, the philosophy of which I have treated under the guidance of the great Angelical Doctor, as it all rests on that truth by manifesting which the Eternal Word makes men intelligent, so on its part, it cannot but prepare men to second the impulses of grace, and to receive with perfect submission from the lips of the Vicar of the Word Incarnate those infallible teachings, which tend to sanctify them in time and to fit them for the blissful fruition, not of the sparse rays of *Ideal Truth*, but of the full Vision of the *Truth Subsistent* ; not of the Light of Faith only, to which mysteries still belong, but of the unveiled Contemplation of the Glorious Majesty of God Himself.

CHAPTER XV.

ROSMINI'S SCIENTIFIC OPPONENTS.—I.

(A.D. 1831-1854.)

Before the Sentence.

IT is not difficult to understand that Rosmini would be attacked by the Sensistic philosophers, of whom mention has been made in the first volume of this Life. No one has written, by the admission of those he wrote against, with greater force than Rosmini, whether against Sensism, Idealism, Ontologism, Pantheism, but especially against Kantism and every shade of German Rationalism.

The strange thing is that he should have been accused by some of his Catholic brethren of the very errors which it was the labour of his whole life to confute; and these attacks have been made with an impetuosity, and carried on by this particular School of writers with a perseverance, that seems still untiring, though they have endured for half a century.

It is also wonderful that although they have failed in every instance, as will be seen, to induce the Ecclesiastical authorities in Rome, which are the judges, for Catholics, of sound or unsound doctrine, to accept their view of the matter, or to take any step against Rosmini's teaching, they do not yet seem to have lost all hopes of success,

It will be necessary now to take up the thread of the history, going back as far as 1831 in order to point out how this opposition to Rosmini first took shape, how it has continued, and what have been its results up to the present hour—the end of 1886.

How it came about that a certain small knot of writers in Rome of the Society of Jesus began to suspect Rosmini's orthodoxy cannot here be explained. But as early as 1831, the year after Rosmini's *second visit* to Rome, the first year of the Pontificate of Gregory XVI., reports against Rosmini and his projected Order were whispered about in Rome. We *know* they came from one particular quarter. Father Gentili's vocation to the Institute of Charity, and Mr De Lisle's confidence in Rosmini, as has been said in a previous chapter, were so shaken by these secret whisperings, that it required the authority of the Cardinal Vicar to reassure them.

The letters I have printed at the end of the chapter "on Rosmini's second visit to Rome" from the General of the Jesuits, and from leading Members of the Order, are sufficient evidence that the Society of Jesus, as represented by these high authorities, had formed from the beginning the most favourable opinion of the soundness and extreme value of Rosmini's writings.

It would seem, however, that in the Society of Jesus, as in other Orders, considerable liberty is given to their theologians and learned men to form their own judgments on open questions. In this way Schools of opinion come to be formed, and there has been, for at least forty years, an Anti-Rosminian School among the Jesuits.

The first public attack made on Rosmini in print by Catholic writers was that contained in an anonymous work, entitled, *Eusebio Cristiano*, which appeared in

1841. It was known to have been written by certain Italian Jesuits.

It was an attack on Rosmini's doctrine on *Original Sin*. In this matter he follows, substantially, the traditional doctrine, as taught by St. Augustine and St. Thomas, the received teaching of the great Dominican, Augustinian, and Franciscan Schools, and the sense, as generally understood by theologians, of the dogmatic teaching on *Original Sin* of the Council of Trent.

That there was nothing dangerous or novel in the doctrine of Rosmini is proved by the following fact. There had been various replies and counter replies and accusations against Rosmini, of holding all the errors of Luther, Calvin, Jansenius, &c. As the controversy seemed likely to be interminable, and to disturb the peace of the Church, Pope Gregory XVI. in 1843 thought proper to call together a Congregation of Cardinals and Consultants of the *Index*, to whom he committed the charge of examining the writings on both sides. Having heard their opinions, which were entirely favourable to Rosmini, he concluded by imposing silence on the controversy, leaving Rosmini's doctrines free to be taught as before.

On the publication of this Decree, Rosmini instantly suspended writings he had in the press, in further reply to his opponents. He put out a circular letter to all the Superiors of his order, in which, after reciting the Decree of the Pope, he says:—"Without making any decision on the merits of the controversy, the Holy Father intends to impose absolute silence on both parties. . . . The same communication, in the same terms, has been made to the most Reverend Father-General of the Society of Jesus." Rosmini then goes on to enjoin on all his subjects "to abstain from taking any part in the controversy, or even speaking of it; at

the same time, according to the intentions of His Holiness, no one is prevented from holding his own opinion, as to the merits of the doctrines that have been attacked."

So matters went on quietly until after the death of Gregory XVI. in 1846. It has been seen, in the chapter on Rosmini's *Diplomatic Mission to Rome*, that he stood in high esteem with Pius IX., and that he had received many intimations through his friend, Cardinal Castracane, that it would give the Pope satisfaction to see him in Rome. But Rosmini, in his humility, looked on this as the expression only of the good will of the Cardinal, and of the great benevolence of the Pope towards him, not as indicating that the Pope had any need of his services.

After a time, at a very critical moment in the political affairs of Italy, he was urged to accept, and actually undertook a special Diplomatic Mission from the Sardinian Government to the Holy See in 1848.

On presenting his credentials at the Vatican, he was immediately admitted to an audience of the Pope, who received him with the greatest affection, said he had long been hoping to see him in Rome, that now he had come he should "retain him a prisoner." The next day he explained the meaning of his words by sending Cardinal Castracane to say that "the Pope desired him to prepare himself for the Cardinalate, to which His Holiness intended to raise him at the next Consistory."

Soon after this the Revolution broke out, Pius IX. was driven to quit Rome, Rosmini, at the Pope's desire, followed him to Gaeta.

After a time, a gradual though complete reaction took place in the Pope's councils. He had tried with the most benevolent intentions to content his subjects by giving them Constitutional Government and a Repre-

sentative Chamber, like the other States of Italy and Modern Governments elsewhere. This had been frustrated by the Revolutionists, whose aim was to dethrone the Pope and the other Princes, and to establish a United Republican Italy.

The party opposed to Rosmini represented that the Roman Revolution was the result of the Pope having listened to imprudent counsellors and *Liberal Catholics*, such as they represented Rosmini to be, though, in fact, as is seen clearly in the chapter on *Rosmini's Diplomatic Mission*, he was very far from approving the form of the "Liberal Concessions," as they were called, that the Pope had been advised to grant by other counsellors, before Rosmini's arrival in Rome.

However, the party of reaction had now the vantage ground of being able to say that they had always foretold that nothing but evil could come of the "*Liberal*" policy of the Pope. Their object was to remove Rosmini's influence. By aid of the Austrian and Neapolitan Governments, they induced the Pope to sanction a Decree placing on the *Index* two small works of Rosmini, *The Five Wounds of the Church* and the *Project of a Constitution for Italy*, both which, however, had been read and approved by the Pope, at the time when he was proposing to make Rosmini a Cardinal, and had also intimated his intention to make him Secretary of State.

Cardinal Mai was then Prefect of the Index, and the office of examining these works was committed to him, but he was so displeased with the haste and irregular mode of action of those who pushed this matter forward (it was chiefly the work of Cardinal Antonelli), that he resigned his office, and Cardinal Brignole was appointed *Prefect of the Index* in order to push on the prohibition of the works without delay. This, which is recorded

in Rosmini's Diary, was told him by Cardinal Mai, whom he met at Naples, and it has been since published by Cardinal Mai's Secretary, Canonico Quattrini.

On receiving the intimation that these works had been placed on the *Index*, Rosmini instantly wrote, making his act of submission, so that his submission was appended to the *Decree of prohibition* in the words, "*Auctor laudabiliter se subjecit*," "the author has laudably submitted."

Rosmini wrote many letters at this time, which show the beautiful spirit in which he received this and other humiliations he was then meeting with; which may be read in the chapters on *The Diplomatic Mission*.

The opponents of Rosmini's doctrines had always proclaimed that before long all his works would be prohibited. Up to that moment they had completely failed in discrediting any of his writings before the Holy See; but now they could point to two works that were actually on the *Index*. No doctrine indeed in the works had been censured by the act of the Holy See; and it was open to Rosmini's friend and to all impartial persons to say that these works were not prohibited from any errors in doctrine, but simply withdrawn for prudential reason from circulation.

But the School opposed to Rosmini's doctrines insisted that the works had been condemned for heretical opinions, and that this would be proved by the speedy condemnation of all his writings for most grievous heretical depravity.

They accordingly lost no time. They had before drawn up a pamphlet entitled *Postille* (or points for condemnation), containing "no less than 327 doctrinal censures. According to these, Rosmini taught the most dreadful heresies, about the Church, the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, prayer, the Sacraments, the Divine Incar-

nation, the nature and operation of Grace, original sin and concupiscence, the human acts, morality, the nature of the intellectual soul, and the natural free-will of man ; not to speak of Fatalism, Quietism, Pantheism ; also doctrines inciting to sedition, irreligion, and the false principles concerning modern progress, &c."

To support this terrible indictment, a very large number of short passages, detached from the context, some taken at leaps, and pieced together, were quoted from the works of Rosmini, and all were twisted into the meaning fixed with a great air of authority by the accusers.

This pamphlet was in manuscript lithographed, without name or date. It was placed confidentially, and only for a few hours, in the hands of such Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, and laymen of rank, as were thought likely to approve and promote the condemnation of Rosmini, for political reasons. For his influence with the Pope was, as has been said, greatly feared. Many influential persons were secretly enraged with Pius IX. for his *Constitutional*, or what they called *Liberal* tendencies, and were glad to make a scape-goat of Rosmini, and render it impossible for the Pope ever to make him a Cardinal, or to recall him to his counsels.

This anonymous pamphlet had been thus handed about for some considerable time before Rosmini heard of it, and it was through a curious incident that he at last saw a copy. Two Jesuit Fathers called on a certain Bishop in the North of Italy. It was just at the moment when they had to leave Rome. They placed in his hands the *Postille*, together with an address signed by many Bishops, asking the Pope to condemn the works of Rosmini, on account of the errors censured in the *Postille*. The Bishop was engaged at that moment with a Professor, a friend of Rosmini, not

known to the visitors. His Lordship said, "Leave the papers with me, I will read them, and if I see reason, give you my signature to morrow." As they hesitated, the Bishop said, "Unless I have time to read, I do not sign;" so the papers were left. The professor just named being consulted about the affair, read the paper, and spent the whole night in copying it; in this way it passed into the hands of Rosmini. The affair, therefore, was well prepared before Rosmini went to Rome, and the prohibition of the two pamphlets at Gaeta was to be the first step, as the anti-Rosminian party expected, to the condemnation of the rest of the works.

There was also a work in two volumes put out a little later than the *Postille* by the same parties, under the *pseudonom* of *Prete Bolognese*. This also was at first not published, but circulated privately, in the same way as the *Postille*. The accusations were the same, but they were supported by a certain amount of sophistical reasoning.

Jansenism was one of the chief accusations, Pantheism another—ill-sounding names. If you "Give a dog a bad name," proverbial wisdom foretells the result. They were well calculated to catch the imaginations of religious Catholics, fill them with horror, and prejudice the judgment of those who were not disposed for the dreary and arduous work of examining the justice of charges, which they felt they might take on faith, since they came from such unexceptionable sources. We do not accuse these good Professors of making charges which they believed to be false; but that they had, as they say in Italy, *una fizzazione*, or as we should say in English, "*they had Rosmini on the brain*."

The Pope had now been restored to Rome, by the army of the French Republic, under President Cavagnac. It was in the year 1850. The formal demand for the

condemnation of Rosmini's works had already been presented to the Pope at Gaeta.

Pius IX. seeing himself called upon to acquit or condemn the works of so celebrated a writer as Rosmini, felt that a duty of high justice was laid upon him. He resolved that both parties should have every ground for the most perfect satisfaction, in the exhaustive character and impartiality of the examination of the works.

The first step of the Pope was to renew, for the second time, the *precept of silence*, that had been made by his predecessor. He went on to say that "the Holy See proposed to place under the most mature examination the controverted opinions."

In the next place he appointed a Special Congregation of Cardinals, and Consultors of the Index, to examine the works. Twenty Consultors from among the most learned men in Rome on philosophical and theological subjects were selected to study all the works. Each was placed under an oath to keep secret that he had received this charge, and was forbidden to take counsel with any one, so that he might be able to give his own individual unbiased opinion in writing on every point that had been censured in Rosmini's writings. I know myself from one of the Consultors that he had not a notion that any one but himself was occupied in the matter, and the same was the case of the rest.

The examination began in March 1851. Rosmini was informed that his works were before the *Index*, and was invited to send his Procurator to reply to any questions that might be proposed by the Congregation.

For this purpose Father Bertetti, who has been more than once mentioned, was sent to Rome as Procurator-General.

It is a slight indication of the spirit of those immediately about the Pope, that Father Bertetti, although the official representative of the Institute, was entirely

frustrated by the officials at the Vatican, so that he was in no way able to get an audience of the Pope in the ordinary way. It so happened that an English gentleman, Captain Washington Hibbert, was then staying in Rome, and asked Father Bertetti, who was his parish priest in England, to accompany him to an audience of the Pope and act as his interpreter. In this way only did Pius IX. know of Rosmini's Procurator being in Rome. He was received by the Pope with the greatest cordiality, and from that time he had free access whenever he had occasion to ask an audience.

The examination of the works continued for more than three years. The Congregation held many sittings, in which all the opinions, *pro* and *contra*, were discussed. The examination was precise, as to every one of the censures of the adverse party, so that the verdict of acquittal, which was unanimous (one Consultor excepted who would not vote), was the most complete declaration possible, that all the 327 charges were unsustainable, and that Rosmini's works had passed through the ordeal unscathed.¹

In the chapter on *Rosmini's Second Visit to Rome*, I have said that it would be a great mistake to suppose that the opposition to Rosmini was the work of the Society of Jesus. I gave some proofs of this in letters I have printed at the end of that chapter from the Father General, and other leading members of the

¹ The principal Consultors who wrote their opinions on the works of Rosmini were Father Buttaoni, Dominican, Master of the Sacred Palace; Father Secchi-muro, Order of Servites; Father d'Arignano, Franciscan; Father Smith, Benedictine; Father Gigli, Dominican; Mgr. Tizzani, Bishop of Nisibis (now Patriarch of Antioch), Augustinian, Professor of the Sapienza; Mgr. di St. Marzano, Archbishop of Ephesus; Mgr. Cardoni, Bishop of Corinth; Professor Luigi Rezzi; Father Abbot Zuppani, Procurator-General of the Cameldolese Order; Father Cajazza, Procurator-General of the Augustinians; Professor Barola; Father Marzocca; Father Trullet, Franciscan; Father Modena, Dominican.

Society. What I have now to relate will still further confirm this, and it comes here in chronological order.

In the winter of 1853 and the spring of 1854 I was in Rome, as companion to our Procurator General, Father Bertetti. It was towards the close of the examination of Rosmini's works. Already it was rumoured that the opponents of Rosmini had failed to make good their charges. One day, I think in April, I was sitting in my room in the Via del Gesu, when I heard a knock at the door, and on going to open it, I introduced two Fathers, whom I knew at once as Jesuits. At that time the Jesuits were again in Rome after the restoration of the Pope, and still wore that well-known venerable habit now never seen in Italy. The senior introduced himself as Father Etheridge, a much respected English Jesuit, at this time Father-Assistant to the newly-elected General, who still survives in a vigorous old age (1886). After the usual friendly salutations and conversation on general topics, Father Etheridge said: "Reverend Father, you are perhaps surprised at my visit, as we are personally strangers." I replied, of course, that "good Father Etheridge could be no stranger to me, and that I was always glad to meet any of the Society, for which I had always felt the greatest respect and affection." He continued: "I have come, sent expressly by my Father General, to say to you, and through you to your Superiors of the Institute of Charity, that the Father General regrets the opposition to your venerated Founder, Rosmini, and he wishes it to be understood that this is not the work of the Society of Jesus, but of a School of opinion in the Society." I expressed my satisfaction at this assurance, which I promised to convey to my General, Father Rosmini. I said that we ourselves had always formed the same notion as to

the controversy; that we looked upon it as a controversy of the Schools, not as a contest between us and the Society of Jesus. I added, that it was now in the hands of the Holy See, to which we both deferred, and from which we both expected a decision that, I hoped, would put an end to the controversy, by indicating who was right and who was wrong.

I write this after the lapse of thirty years, but I have a letter by me from Father Etheridge, written some years ago, in which he endorses the substantial accuracy of my statement.

The decision, which was unanimous in Rosmini's favour, was published two months later. The Pope made the decision his own, by presiding personally at the final Act of the Congregation and sentence of acquittal. He then and there imposed, for the third time, a *Precept of Silence*, forbidding the same "accusations to be renewed." Yet, notwithstanding all this, this "School in the Society" has never ceased its efforts, but in vain, to obtain the cancelling of the sentence of acquittal and the condemnation of the doctrines of Rosmini.

I have said that we do not complain of scientific opposition, and when I have said that we think these worthy Professors are "suffering from a *fizzazione* of Rosmini on the brain," I do not mean that there was not, before the solemn examination, legitimate ground for fair controversy, as to the meaning or the soundness of some of Rosmini's statements. But after the above decision of the Holy See, we say it is not *legitimate* to call Rosmini a heretic, or to censure what the Holy See has declared free of censure; and it is not *fair* to make use of the arts of journalism to get up a popular prejudice, and stigmatize a great writer, a holy man, and the Founder of a Religious Order, with the foulest charges

that can be made against a Christian, of being a Jansenist and a Pantheist.

I am glad to be able to quote here the words of one of the most learned Thomists of the Dominican Order—Gonzales, Archbishop of Cordova, recently raised to the Cardinalate. In these words we see the ancient true tradition of the Dominican Order which has led them, although by no means agreeing with Rosmini in all he teaches, to be the strenuous defenders of *liberty* in Catholic Philosophy. In his Eminence's work, *Philosophia Elementaria* (1863, vol. iii., in the chapter on *St. Thomas and Rosmini*), he writes :

There are few who have not heard the name of Rosmini ; but perhaps there are not many who have read the works which have given to his name a just and well-deserved celebrity. Those, however, who have read and meditated on his *Nuovo Saggio On the Origin of Ideas*, and on his *Rinnovamento, or Restoration of Philosophy in Italy*, cannot but agree in this, that Rosmini is, beyond all doubt, one of the most illustrious philosophers of modern Italy.

It is true that his mode of expression is sometimes a little obscure ;¹ yet, notwithstanding this obscurity, the grand characteristics of a veritable genius for speculation are clearly seen.

Rosmini, without being, rigorously speaking, original, may be said to be so with good reason, because of the light which he throws on the great truths of Science, as well as by the elevation shown in his ideas, and the profundity of philosophic thought which dominates all his writings.

It is not the least merit of Rosmini, that he has found the way to avoid the rock upon which great men of vigorous intellects have but too often run, namely, that spurious originality which strikes out short cuts from the beaten track, ending in error, and in absurd and dangerous theories. For, the philosophy of Rosmini is, at the bottom, the Christian Philosophy. It is the Philosophy of St. Augustine, of St. Anselm, and of St. Thomas, the imprints

¹ It is sometimes said that Rosmini is obscure. But it is a fact that although his defenders are so many, and from so many parts of Italy, and unknown to one another, they all understand him substantially in the same sense.

of which are clearly and deeply marked in every step of the writings of the Italian Philosopher.

If it were necessary, it would not be difficult to show clearly the intimate relations, and in fact, the identity of doctrine, that exists between the Philosophy of Rosmini and that of St. Thomas, in respect of all the greatest and most important problems of Philosophical Science.

We may take an example, and a partial proof of this in what he says on the question of *being*. It is sufficient to read the works of Rosmini, especially his *Nuovo Saggio On the Origin of Ideas*, to be convinced that his theory on *being*, considered in itself, and in its relations with the idealogical problems, has not merely many points of contact with that of St. Thomas, but we may say it is *identical with it*, if we except some particular points of minor importance.

Cardinal Gonzales then goes on to make large extracts from St. Thomas and from Rosmini, demonstrating their *identity of doctrine* on the theory of *being*. The Eminent author concludes :

Those who have read the works of St. Thomas, and meditated somewhat on his *Ontology* and *Ideology*, will have no difficulty in recognizing that the passages of Rosmini, which we have transcribed, are in *perfect harmony* with the *substance* of the solution given by the Holy Doctor, on some of the principal Ontological and Idealogical problems, and may be considered as a commentary on the doctrine of St. Thomas. Nevertheless, we must observe that, by the side of this affinity of doctrine and identity of thought, as regards the *substance*, there exist some differences, more or less perceptible, although, as we have said, they are always *accidental*, and on matters of detail.

In the *Introduction* to the same work (p. 12), Cardinal Gonzales writes :

The philosophical writings of Rosmini, Balmez, and Ventura are, at bottom, nothing but the philosophy of St. Thomas. (At p. 26.) Pascal, Bossuet, Rosmini, and Balmez in their teaching of the philosophy of St. Thomas, *have illustrated and developed it, and presented its ideas under new aspects.*

The philosophy of St. Thomas contains an elevated and worthy solution of the most important problems of philosophy, and of the

moral and political sciences ; but, at the same time, it is necessary to recognise that some authors and some modern Schools do not merely present those truths and those problems in a more convenient form, method, and style, but that they have given a new aspect to certain truths, illustrating and developing many problems of science, analysing its different phases and relations. In a word it cannot be doubted that philosophy is indebted to these authors and Schools for observations, as exact as they are interesting, for special classifications and analytical processes, which are as worthy of imitation as they are calculated to promote the development and progress of science.

Speaking (p. 18) of the similarity and difference between the philosophy of St. Thomas and that of Aristotle, Cardinal Gonzales says :

Some suppose that the philosophy of St. Thomas is identical with the philosophy of Aristotle, judging only from certain external appearances and forms. This is a very serious mistake. It is in the part relating to physics only that there is a true affinity between the philosophy of St. Thomas and that of Aristotle. As regards *philosophy*, properly so called, namely, Ontology, Cosmology, Theodicy, Psychology, Ideology, the Moral and Political Sciences, the philosophy of St. Thomas is in its basis as much *Platonic* as *Aristotelic*, and at the same time it is neither one nor the other. The Philosophy of St. Thomas is the Christian Philosophy founded by St. Clement of Alexandria and St. Athanasius, developed by St. Augustine, cultivated by St. Anselm and by St. Bonaventura, brought to its perfection in a systematic and complete manner by St. Thomas himself, taught afterwards in part by Malebranche, Paschal, and the Scottish School, and continued to our days by Fenelon, Bossuet, Leibnitz, Rosmini, Balmez, Ventura.

The words of Cardinal Gonzales carry great additional weight ; 1st, because they were written more than ten years after the examination and acquittal of Rosmini's works by the judgment of the Holy See ; 2nd, because they were also written with the full knowledge of all the persistent charges brought against his doctrine, before the examination, and since, by the anti-Rosminian party in Rome, all directed to show

that Rosmini's doctrines are erroneous, and are in contradiction with those of St. Thomas ; 3rd, because it was with the full knowledge of his written opinions that Gonzales was made Archbishop of Cordova and raised to the Cardinalate by Leo XIII. ; an additional proof that the party who attack Rosmini do not represent the mind of the Holy See, or anything else but the opinions and modes of action of what Cardinal Newman has called, with his usual incisiveness, "a forward aggressive faction."

CHAPTER XVI.

ROSMINI'S SCIENTIFIC OPPONENTS.—II.

After the Sentence of Acquittal.

(A.D. 1854-1876).

ROSMINI knew that in all he had ever written he had had no object before him but truth, and that he had never written a sentence without having used extreme carefulness to see that it was free from any taint, and well defended by the authority of St. Thomas, and the great Theologians, or that it was a sound inference from ascertained principles. Yet, profound in humility, he deeply felt that he might have made statements wanting in clearness or material precision, so that his meaning might in some places be obscure and misunderstood. He was therefore not without grave anxiety during the whole of the four years' examination.

What grieved him was not the possibility of error being found in his writings, but the *animus* of his opponents, who spared no pains to circulate all manner of injurious reports against him. In this way was created a wide-spread distrust of his works and of his Order, throughout Italy, and even in France, Germany, and England. These unfavourable opinions continued even after the acquittal of his works in 1854, and continue to the present day. In almost every number of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and of the journals that are its echoes, we find, repeated with a wearisome want of

novelty, the old charges of the *Postille* and of the *Prete Bolognese*, which were thoroughly sifted and dismissed, as untenable, by the sentence of the Holy See thirty years ago. The fact of the acquittal was, as we shall see, studiously concealed at the time, and afterwards minimised, so as to seem no acquittal at all, and it was continually repeated, "that though not yet condemned, his works were on the verge of condemnation." This has gone on for thirty years.

These were some of the trials of the last ten years of Rosmini's life, and there is little doubt they gradually wore away his naturally robust constitution, so as to prepare the way for his death at the age of fifty-eight, under an attack that in itself might not have caused it.

During all these years he suffered under the incessant stings of calumny, which touched his honour as a man, a Christian, a priest, and the head of a Religious Order; but it was for his Religious brethren that he felt more than for himself.

Some even of Rosmini's oldest friends (not Manzoni who was always true to him), and even his other dearest friend, Mellario, were affected by these calumnies, coming as they did from persons of repute, and with the prestige of the great Society, whose name they were able to subjoin to their own. He bore all with a spirit of perfect peace and tranquillity. He used to say, "God knows what amount of good name we require for His service, we must rejoice that He keeps us humble." In the portion of this work in which the *Virtues of Rosmini* are treated, there are several extracts from letters which show what was his spirit of interior peace during this time of trial.

But he had his consolations also in the sympathy of many old and true friends, and in that of many who, up to that time, had been unknown to him, but who now

rallied round him, having been first led to examine his doctrines for themselves, in consequence of the extravagance of the charges made against him, as well as by the extraordinary authority given to his philosophical principles, and to the orthodoxy of his doctrinal statements in the complete acquittal of his works by the Holy See. For it was seen that they had passed uncensured, through so searching an examination as had in no other instance been given to any system of philosophy in its relation to Catholic dogma.

Among the many letters of sympathy and adhesion which Rosmini received, there was one from the Capuchin Fathers of Rovereto. Rosmini's beautiful reply shows what was the nobleness of his mind, his charity towards opponents, and submission to the Will of God.

In the first place (he writes), my grief is tempered by the thought that those who assail me, although in ways that are unbecoming, are moved in some way by a zeal for the purity of faith, a thing so precious, that it ought to be set before every other thing.

Don Paoli, his daily companion and biographer, observes on this passage, "Such was the total absence in the Father of all feeling of animosity, in respect of his opponents, that he always tried to excuse what he could not justify. He never allowed any of us to say a bitter word against them, and declared that 'if our own hearts were better, we should think better of them.'"

To continue the extract from the letter to the Capuchins:

Next, I consider that such things as these are permitted by our Eternal Lord and Creator, without whose Will nothing happens in heaven or on earth, Who permits everything with a most high design, and out of everything that is evil, knows how to draw out, with infallible effect, a greater good.

As regards myself, it would be impossible to number over the advantages and compensations I have received through means

of my opponents. How many friends in Christ have been made known to me, whom I did not know before ! I do not reckon among these gains, so much, the praises I have received (for these are often dangerous to our self-love), by which, as well by word of mouth as in printed works, so many endeavour to compensate me for the censures of my opponents ; but I reckon as the most precious of the advantages that have come to me, those dear prayers that are offered for me, by so many faithful souls, disciples and followers of charity in truth, and truth in charity.

That from all these events permitted by our Lord wherein bitterness is woven together with much sweetness, my poor soul may draw profit, so as to serve our Lord with greater fidelity and greater alacrity and courage, virtues which are nourished only in trials, is what I most ardently desire, and it is this I hope to receive through the many prayers of the good that are offered for me, and especially from those of your Reverend Community.

This was, through all these years from 1831 to his death in 1855, the spirit of Rosmini, as we learn from all his letters which refer to the continually repeated charges against his orthodoxy.

On the three days preceding the judgment of the Holy See in 1854, he ordered, as we have seen in another place, a Triduum of Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament ; and on the momentous day, and at the hour of the decision, he was seen before the Altar fixed in the most rapt adoration.

When the sentence of acquittal was pronounced, it was not published, but it was only intimated to Rosmini's Procurator that the sentence was *Dimittantur Opera*, which is the formal sentence always given in the case of works examined and dismissed from all charges that have been brought up against them. Father Bertetti, Rosmini's Procurator in Rome, asked whether the decision was not to be made public. The reply was that " he must be satisfied with information that the sentence was *Dimittantur Opera*, and with the *Precept of silence* ; as it was not thought well to irritate in any

way the adverse party, and for the present the matter was to pass in silence.

It must be said this was not all the justice that seemed due after the great publicity that had been given by Rosmini's opponents to their censures on his works, and the announcement of the expected condemnation; but things are sometimes done in Rome, by indirect influence, which never reach the ears of the Pope himself.

The adversaries of Rosmini, however, so used their influence, that the fact of the sentence of acquittal was excluded from all the Journals of Rome and of Italy, and no notice was taken of it in the *Civiltà Cattolica*. It appeared first in a French paper, the *Journal des Debats*, more than a year later, after Rosmini's death, in October 1855.

From this suppression, by the Clerical Journals which were under the influence of the adverse party, of the sentence favourable to Rosmini and damaging to his opponents, a very widespread impression has prevailed that his works had not been acquitted, nor any sentence favourable to them pronounced. Of the thousands who have heard of the charges against Rosmini, very few comparatively have heard of the sentence of acquittal. This I can testify; for in an experience of thirty years, I have met few Catholics of education who had not heard that Rosmini's works had been accused of heresy, many who supposed that they had been condemned, more had been assured that they would soon be prohibited, but I think I could count on my fingers those who knew, before I told them, that his works had been acquitted, and this by a sentence equivalent to the highest sentence in the case of the works of Canonised Saints, of *nil censuræ dignum*.

So things went on for twenty years after the sentence

of *Dimittantur Opera*; and notwithstanding the *Precept of silence*, the attacks on Rosmini had been incessant. At last the authorities in Rome thought themselves bound to speak.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* had stated, and the *Osservatore Romano* and the *Osservatore Cattolico* of Milan had echoed the statement that, admitting that the sentence *Dimittantur Opera* had been pronounced on Rosmini's works, this was no judgment on the *merits of the case*, but only a suspension of judgment, which did not free the works from the suspicions raised by the charges made against them. This was in 1876.

On this, the Master of the Sacred Palace, Father Vincenzo Gatti of the Dominican Order, brought the statement of these writers before the Sacred Congregation of the *Index*, and received authority from the Prefect of the Congregation, Cardinal di Luca, to write to the Editors of those periodicals, requiring them to retract the erroneous propositions they had put forward, as to the force of the sentence *Dimittantur Opera*, and against the orthodoxy of the writings of Rosmini that had been examined and acquitted.

In this letter, I would observe, was published for the first time the full text of the *sentence of acquittal* of Rosmini, twenty years after he had gone to his reward.

The following official communication, therefore, appeared in the *Osservatore Romano* of June 20, 1876, addressed to the Editor:—

Most illustrious Marquis,—In No. 136 of your esteemed Journal, June 14, 1876, I have read with pain an article on a little work entitled, "Antonio Rosmini and the *Civiltà Cattolica* before the Sacred Congregation of the *Index*, by G. Buroni."

You are well aware that the works of the distinguished philosopher, Antonio Rosmini, were made the subject of a most rigorous examination by the Sacred Congregation of the *Index* from

1851 to 1854, and that at the close of this examination our Holy Father, Pope Pius IX., still happily reigning, in the assembly of the Most Reverend Consultors, and the Most Eminent Cardinals, whose votes he had heard, and over whom he deigned, with a condescension seldom shown, to preside in person, after invoking with fervent prayers the light and help of heaven, pronounced the following Decree :—"All the works of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, concerning which investigation has been made of late, must *be dismissed*; nor has this same investigation resulted in anything whatever derogatory to the name of the author, nor to the praiseworthiness of life and the singular merits before the Church of the Religious Society founded by him.

The author of the article referred to undertakes to discuss the meaning of the sentence *Dimittantur Opera*; but, while professing to admit its force, he reduces it well-nigh to nothing. For he says, "We do not deny that *Dimittantur* is in a *certain respect* equivalent to *Permittantur*: but to permit that a work may be published and read without incurring ecclesiastical penalty, has nothing whatever to do with declaring the work *incensurable*." Now by these words one is led to suppose that the Sacred Congregation, or rather the Holy Father, by pronouncing that judgment, did nothing more than permit that the works of Rosmini may be published and read without incurring a penalty.

But, I ask: What penalty did the editors and readers of Rosmini's works incur before those works were subjected to so lengthened and accurate a scrutiny? None whatever. What, then, would the Sacred Congregation of the Index have done by such grave study and labours so protracted? Nothing whatever. And to what purpose would the judgment of the Holy Father have been given? To no purpose whatever. If, then, we do not wish to fall into these absurdities, we must say that the *accusations brought against Rosmini's works were false*; that in these works nothing was found contrary to faith and morals; that their publication and perusal are not dangerous to the faithful. Who can ever suppose that the Holy Father has set free for publication works containing erroneous doctrines? and liberated their readers from penalty? To liberate from penalty the readers of books infected with error would be an act productive of greater injury than if a penalty were imposed, or (assuming its previous existence) were maintained in full rigour.

I have to request that you will not in future receive any articles either on the *sense* of the judgment *Dimittantur*, nor *against the*

learned and pious Rosmini, nor against his works examined and dismissed.

I take this opportunity to remind all concerned that the Holy Father, from the time of the issuing of the *Dimittantur Opera*, enjoined silence, and this in order that no new accusations should be put forward, nor under any pretext a way be made for discord among Catholics : *v.g.*, "That no new accusations and discords should arise and be disseminated in future, silence is now for the third time enjoined on either party, by command of His Holiness."

Who does not see that the seeds of discord are sown by traducing the works of Rosmini, either as not having been yet sufficiently examined, or as suspected of errors which were not seen either before or after so extraordinary an examination, or as dangerous ; or by using expressions which take away all the value, or diminish excessively the force and authority of a judgment, pronounced with so much maturity and so much solemnity by the Supreme Pastor of the Church ?

By this it is not meant to affirm that it would be unlawful to dissent from the philosophical system of Rosmini, or from the manner in which he tries to explain some truths ; and even to offer a confutation of them in the schools ; but if one does not agree with Rosmini in the manner of explaining certain truths, it is not therefore lawful to conclude that Rosmini has denied these truths ; nor is it lawful to inflict any theological censure on the doctrines maintained by him in the works which the Sacred Congregation has examined and dismissed, and which the Holy Father has intended to protect from further accusations in the future.

The following appeared in the *Osservatore Cattolico* of Milan, July 1, 1876 :—

The Sacred Congregation of the Index by a letter addressed to His Grace the Archbishop of Milan, under date of June, 20, 1876, and signed by His Eminence Cardinal Antonio di Luca, Prefect of the Congregation, and the Very Reverend Father Girolamo Pio Saccheri, of the Friar Preachers, Secretary, and delivered by His Grace in person to one of the responsible Editors of this journal on July 28, has enjoined us :

1st. To maintain in future the most rigorous silence on the question of the works of Antonio Rosmini ; because in consequence of the authoritative decree of the Holy Father, "*that no new accusations and discords should arise and be disseminated in future,*

silence is for the third time enjoined on either party by command of His Holiness," it is not lawful—in matters pertaining to faith and sound morals—to inflict any censure on the works of Rosmini or on his person ; "the only thing upon which freedom is allowed being to discuss in the schools and in books, and within proper limits, his philosophical opinions, and the merits of his manner of explaining certain truths, even theological."

2d. To declare in an early issue of this journal that we have not rightly interpreted the sentence of *Dimittantur* which the Sacred Congregation of the Index thinks fit sometimes—after mature and diligent examination—to pronounce upon works submitted to its authoritative judgment.

Full of reverence for the supreme authority of the Holy See, and wishing to be faithful to our duty, as well as to the programme of this Journal, we, the responsible Editors of the *Osservatore Cattolico*, on our own behalf and of all who have written in our columns on the question aforesaid, intend to declare, and do hereby declare in the most docile and submissive manner possible, that :

1st. As to the silence now imposed, we repeat and confirm what we said on occasion of reproducing in this Journal the letter of the Master of the Sacred Palace to the Editor of the *Osservatore Romano*, viz., that it shall be observed.

2nd. The sentence of *Dimittantur*, as used by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, was not rightly interpreted by us.

(Signed) ENRICO MASSARA.

DAVIDE ALBERTARIO.

Editors of the *Osservatore Cattolico*.

MILAN, June 30, 1876.

A similar admonition was sent at the same time to the Editors of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. It was, however, strongly represented to the authorities that to require the publication in its pages would be too great a humiliation to that periodical, and too great a triumph to the Rosminians. The publication, therefore, was dispensed with.

The charges, however, of the adverse party have continued just as before.

CHAPTER XVII.

ROSMINI'S SCIENTIFIC OPPONENTS.—III.

Journalistic Assassination.

(A.D. 1876-1886.)

THE Holy Father Pius IX. acted with the accustomed wisdom of the Holy See when he endeavoured, as has been seen in the last chapter, to prohibit the discussions in the JOURNALS, of the Rosminian question. The *Dimittantur Opera* had cleared the inculpatated works from all the 327 censures. These had been sifted and dismissed as untenable. Although so stringent an examination, resulting in a sentence of complete acquittal, places Rosmini's doctrines on a very high eminence, it was not thereby intended to endorse them as unassailable. Accordingly, the letter of the Authorities of the Index, which was published with the Pope's full personal knowledge and sanction, while forbidding discussions such as those of the Journals, from which "accusations and discords are sure to arise," says that it is open "to discuss in the Schools and in books, and within proper limits, the philosophical opinions of Rosmini, and the merits of his manner of explaining certain truths, even theological, but *not so as to inflict any theological censure* on the doctrines maintained in the works, which the Sacred Congregation has examined and dismissed, and which the Holy Father has intended to protect from *further accusations* in the future."

Within these limits, if they had been observed, dis-

cussion was perfectly legitimate. One does not, however, see how such ill-sounding names as *Jansenist* and *Pantheist* could be tolerated "in the Schools and in books," after the express injunction of the Holy See, that "no *theological* censures were to be inflicted on Rosmini's doctrines." But let this pass, and let us suppose that these and similar phrases are used only in some technical or scientific sense, understood in the Schools as expressing only that certain *premisses* of an opponent, *ought logically*, in the opinion of the disputant, to lead to these extreme consequences; in this sense, *e.g.*, one might say that "all who hold the *Sensistic* philosophy are Atheists;" only we do not say this, because we do not believe it, and the charge would be opprobrious. So it might be said that calling one another *Jansenist* on the one side, and *Pelagian* on the other, may mean no more than that, in the opinion of the speaker or writer, the opponent holds dangerously narrow or wide views on the doctrines of human Free Will and Divine Grace.

This kind of "calling names," if ever tolerated, is a bad tradition from the latter days of the Scholastics; a part of the bad manners of a half-barbarous age. We doubt, however, if Thomists and Scotists ever gave to one another a tithe of the abuse that has been given to the Rosminians. Even Luther, who was not particular about his language, and he had the tradition of the Schools of his day, when he wished to be particularly provoking, only called his royal opponent, Henry VIII., a "*Thomistical Ass*." But those days are gone by. Scholars, who are also gentlemen, do not apply abusive epithets to their opponents. *Parliamentary* etiquette has made men behave almost as politely as Michael the Archangel, who "brought no railing accusation against his adversary the Devil, but said, the Lord rebuke thee."

Personal abuse might pass, in those rough days of old, when knights and nobles amused themselves and the ladies of the family, by tilting against one another, to the danger of life and limb in the lists, and yeomen slashed and broke each others' heads in pure good will with broad-swords and quarter-staves. Then Scholars, Friars, and Clerics, at universities, broke each other's heads morally in the Schools. All was fair in Logic; "words broke no bones." Little harm was done then by calling each other "*heretic*." All were firm Catholics together; they knew just how much it meant, as their brothers in the lists or on the village green meant just nothing, by their rough blows, except good humour and manly sport, and to prove which was the best man.

But now, when all these polemics go into print—when the daily journal has taken the place it now holds in our *Modern Civilization*, and controversies on vital questions are carried on in the newspapers, the public take this sort of abuse seriously, according to the plain meaning of words; and when a Priest or a Religious Body is accused of *Jansenism* or *Pantheism*, people think it really means that they are arch-hypocrites in disguise.¹

Besides this, even when no bad names are used, if discussions such as we are speaking of are carried on in the columns of newspapers, "accusations and discord are sure to be disseminated" among the Catholic public, the majority of whom have neither ability, time, nor

¹ An amusing illustration, one in a hundred that might be given, occurred on the Feast of the Purification this year in Rome, when, according to custom, as Procurator-General I had to go up with the other representatives of Religious Orders to present a candle to the Pope. An old Marchese, a very pious Christian, one of the attendants at the throne, said afterwards in Society in Rome, "What do you think I saw to-day? the Procurator-General of the Rosminians coming up to present his candle to the Pope. I was astonished, for I did not think the Rosminians were Christians at all; I thought they were all Pantheists. What is the meaning of this?"

inclination to study for themselves and understand the merits of the case in subtle questions. Thus the matter becomes one chiefly of party spirit, and people take sides, and attack or defend hotly what they do not understand, "jurantes in verbum magistri," swearing by the word of their newspaper, or by a school of writers, or the body it is supposed to represent. We see this every day in the discussions on politics and even on practical questions which everybody is supposed to understand, but on which we generally find there are two or more irreconcilable parties. Still more is this very frequently the case on philosophical questions, which are too deep, and on theological questions which are often too subtle, and always too sacred, for newspaper discussion.

Whatever is capable of generating party spirit tends to create heat and prejudice, "accusations and discord." In this way *persons* come to be attacked, and not *principles* only; *odium* for opinions, real or supposed, infects men's judgment of the person who holds them, or of the society to which he belongs; many partisans on both sides are drawn into the feud, and if once the journals take up the matter, there are sure to be one-sided statements, and the controversy is pretty sure to become more and more rancorous, personal, and calumnious.

When argument fails, persons of authority or position are invoked to give weight to censures by their name. If the other party has not the same means of making itself heard, the public ear is gained, for the public go generally with the last word. Then, abuse takes the place of argument: "Throw plenty of dirt, some of it will stick," was the experienced remark of Voltaire. The person attacked is thus placed in the pillory, pelted with unsavoury missiles, and is often so damaged in reputation as to be reduced to silence, because he can find

no adequate means of being heard. Judgment then goes by default, and the real or supposed delinquent is sometimes completely extinguished, and his system forgotten.

Rosmini has been subjected for a number of years to this treatment, by those so-called *Clerical* journals of Italy, which are the *Echoes* of the *Civiltà Cattolica*; and in Italy the other Journals take no notice of what they contemptuously call "Clerical squabbles;" or their defence is not such as the Rosminians have cared to invoke.

The chief difference in Rosmini's case, from the one we have imagined above, is that *his name has not been forgotten, nor his system extinguished*. Rosmini's name is now known everywhere, and numbers of adherents of his system have sprung up, among thoughtful men, who were first led to study him for themselves, owing, chiefly, to the unfairness and virulence they had observed in much that has been written by his opponents.

At the time I am writing (Oct. 1885) the *Civiltà Cattolica* has just summed up its accusations, in a very neatly conceived sentence, "Rosmini is in Theology a Jansenist, in Philosophy a Pantheist, in Politics a Liberal!" While I was revising these sheets for the press in Rome, on the 28th day of November 1885, I was debating with myself whether I would not cancel all I had written on the details of this miserable exhibition of *odium theologicum*, when a copy of the *Divin Salvatore* was placed in my hands. It is a *Magazine for pious families*; its second title is *The Religious Week of Rome*. It would seem to be one of the many *Echoes* of the *Civiltà Cattolica*.

The *Magazine* came to me accompanied by a card from an old friend of mine, a Redemptorist Father, one

of the most esteemed Confessors in Rome. His words as written on his card were :

I send you a copy of the *Divin Salvatore* just published (Nov. 25). Pray read the notice on St. Catharine. It is *atrocious* to write in such a way of that which the Church has not condemned.

The article is on St. Catharine of Alexandria, and it concludes with the following pious reflections and aspirations :—

Let us make it a duty, and feel it an honour to pay honour to this most wise among women, and pray her, as the Patroness of Philosophy, to eradicate from the Schools, certain systems of *Atheistic-Pantheistic* philosophy, clothed in Catholic garb. It is time that the most wise Leo XIII. should be obeyed, and the philosophy of Rovereto banished from the Schools for ever.

The most learned Liberatore, Cornoldi,¹ and Zigliara, have proved to evidence the dangerous doctrines which Rosmini, a priest, and, so far as appears, very pious, scatters through his works, as if he were not aware of it.

A very great² Cardinal, whom we highly honour, says that Rosmini is in Theology a Jansenist, in Philosophy a Pantheist, in Politics a Liberal. Deny it who can?

O Catharina! dear Mother of Philosophers, strike death to the false philosophy of Gioberti, Mamiani, Rosmini, and to all false philosophies. Amen.

O Catharina! raise the glorious standard of the Aristotelian philosophy, as explained according to the mind of the great Scholastics. Amen.

This interruption to my revision of manuscript led me to insert the above extract, and to leave my work as I had written it. But I decided to put all this portion into a *Last Chapter or Appendix*, and I hope the "Life of Rosmini" may be read for edification when the facts in the *Appendix* are forgotten. It pains

¹ Why was poor Ballerini omitted? He deserves as well as the rest—but then he is dead, and the Italian proverb says, "Better a living ass, than a dead Doctor."

² The remark of this "great Cardinal," if this remark was ever made, was not original. The *Civiltà Cattolica* deserves all the credit of it.

me to write these facts, because they do not redound to the credit of an Order, which I love and venerate, but which has given too much latitude to a "School in the Society" to censure, by private authority, what the Holy See has not censured, and has forbidden to be censured; and this has been done with acrimony, and "not within proper bounds." It cannot be denied that this has "fomented accusations and discord among Catholics" by the very dangerous weapon of *quasi-religious Journalism*. If all this were omitted, it would not be giving a true history of Rosmini. All that I can do is to state facts, without acrimony against the authors of them, but simply as a part of the Providential action of God, who never permits false accusation and wrong, except because He sees it necessary for the bringing out of truth and right.

I will now venture to state what was never published before, as it bears upon the matter in question, and forms part of its history, especially as regards the accusations made so repeatedly, and echoed in the journals, that the Rosminian doctrine is *opposed to the teaching of St. Thomas*, rebellious against the Pope, and was *intended* to be condemned by *Leo XIII.* in his Encyclical *Æterni Patris*.

In this famous Encyclical, the Pope had earnestly exhorted all Bishops and Superiors of Seminaries, Colleges, and Religious Orders, engaged in the Higher Education, to make St. Thomas Aquinas the standard of Philosophical teaching.

A great demonstration was projected for the 7th of March 1880, to present addresses to the Pope, thanking him for the Encyclical. It was greatly promoted by the opponents of Rosmini in the North of Italy, instigated principally by the *Osservatore Cattolico* of Milan.

In these addresses, after thanking the Holy Father

for his *Enciclica stupenda*, they went on to observe that "however obvious it was to all well disposed Catholics that the Encyclical implicitly condemned Rosmini's philosophy, yet in order to take away all subterfuge and pretence from evil disposed persons, they humbly besought the Holy Father to deign to speak out so explicitly, that by condemning Rosmini by name, his adherents may either be led to abandon his system, or else stand confessed as no longer owning the name of Catholic."

These addresses were printed in the *Osservatore Cattolico* of Milan, and probably in most of the pious magazines; and great numbers of signatures, many of them being those of young ladies of Religious Confraternities, servants, and others, who could know nothing of the merits of the question.

A good many persons unconnected with this part of the programme were disposed to join in the demonstration in honour of St. Thomas of Aquinas, and to thank the Holy Father for his Encyclical. Amongst these a certain number of the Rosminians, both members of the Order and well-known writers in the cause outside the Order, decided to join the demonstration.

It was thought well that some one should go to represent the English Province of the Institute of Charity, and I was sent to Rome for this purpose.

Cardinal Newman, the honour of whose friendship I have had for more than forty years, and who had always taken a great interest in Rosmini's Order, was good enough to write a letter to the Pope introducing the present writer, and asking for an audience, in order that he might lay before His Holiness the deep sorrow and anxiety felt by the Fathers, and the injury done to the Order by the public statements made in journals and periodicals by writers who carried weight with the public,

that the Pope had intended implicitly, if not by name, to condemn Rosmini in his late Encyclical. His Eminence prayed the Holy Father to send for him, and give to the Order through him such indications of His Holiness's mind as might console or direct them.

After he had been in Rome a few days he received an order to present himself at the Vatican for an audience. The Pope received him most graciously. After he had made the usual acts of reverence, the Holy Father bade him rise, and with great kindness of manner thus addressed him :—"Father Lockhart, I am informed by Cardinal Newman that you Rosminians are much grieved, fearing that it is my intention to condemn the works of your Founder Rosmini. This is not true; up to this moment such a thought has not entered my mind. In my Encyclical *Œterni Patris*, in which there is not a word that I had not well weighed, there is nothing that has any application to Rosmini. It is true that I have commended the works of St. Thomas as the foundation of Philosophical teaching, but I have never intended to exclude the study of other writers. Let Rosmini and other authors be read, in order to throw light upon questions, but let St. Thomas be taken as the text-book." I replied, "Holy Father, I am greatly consoled by your Holiness's words, but Cardinal Newman has not quite expressed our meaning. We are not afraid that your Holiness will ever condemn Rosmini; but we cannot accept the censures of Journalism as if this was the voice of the Holy See. We believe that in following Rosmini we are following St. Thomas, but if ever the Holy See should instruct us that we are in the wrong, we are prepared to obey. We are Rosminians by conviction, but first of all we are obedient children of the Holy See." To this the Pope replied, "Bravo; and are all your Italian Fathers of the

same mind as you English Rosminians?" I assured the Holy Father that this was the case. He was evidently well pleased with the few words I said to him. I then asked leave to present a little work I had written some years before, "*On the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes and the Roman Question*," saying, "Holy Father, you will see from this work, which has the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning, and which was published with the sanction of my Religious Superior, that we Rosminians are not the *Liberali* they report us to be, in the Italian Journals." At this the Pope laughed, saying, "No, no, I know you are not *Liberali*, but excellent Religious." He then began to ask me many questions as to religious affairs in England and the work there done by our Institute. The audience must have lasted nearly half an hour. I was then preparing to make my exit in the usual way, by walking backwards to the door and making the three customary genuflections. But the Pope rose from his seat, and with most unusual condescension conducted me to the door, which was opened from without.

The Holy Father then stood conversing with me at the entrance of the Audience Chamber in sight of the crowd of officials and persons waiting in the Anticamera. He inquired very affectionately after the health of Cardinal Newman, sending him his blessing as I knelt to take leave.

Demonstrations of this kind on the part of the Pope are rare, and they are well understood in Rome to be intended to express that the subject of them stands well with the Holy See. In my case, as representative of an Order, and of a cause that had been much canvassed, like that of Rosmini, it was understood to mean that nothing that had been said by its opponents had produced any impression to its disadvantage at the Chair of Peter.

Those in Rome who heard the account of my audience were much impressed with its significance, but I told it to very few, and to those in confidence, for I did not feel that at the time it would be wise or respectful to the Holy Father to make public, words that he had spoken to me in private audience. Now, however, that five or six years have passed since the event, and that the Holy Father has repeated substantially what he said to me, to many Bishops in private audience, who have spoken of it publicly, I do not feel that I am breaking any confidence in recounting this very consolatory audience with Leo XIII.

Since that time I have never asked for a private audience, as I have always felt that the Pope could not say more than he had said on that occasion, and that I had no need to seek for any additional token of his good will; but when I have had occasion to go to him officially in public audience with the other Procurators and representatives of Orders, or as one of the Lent preachers, I have always found that the Holy Father recognised me by name, and had some kind word to say expressive of his favour; and two years ago, when I presented the candle as usual on the Feast of the Purification, he asked me publicly whether I was going to preach again that year in Lent to the English.

My appointment for two successive years to be one of the Lent preachers was itself remarkable. The *Civiltà Cattolica* had continued its attacks, as also the Journals that are its Echoes, and even pious magazines, such as the *Divin Salvatore*, just referred to, had now and then a stinging paragraph—always to the same old tune—that Rosmini was *just going to be condemned!* At last, just before Christmas 1882, a book was published by Father Cornoldi, one of our old opponents, entitled *Rosminianism, a Synthesis of Ontologism*

and Pantheism; this was simply a compilation from a number of articles that had appeared successively in the *Civiltà Cattolica*.

It was immediately after this that my name was published on the doors of all the Churches of Rome and in the Journals of the Vatican, amongst the appointments of the Cardinal Vicar to preach the English sermons in Rome, at the Church of St. Andrea della Valle, during the solemnities of the Epiphany, and also during the Lent in the same and the following year, 1883 and 1884.

The moral of this was understood in Rome to be that, notwithstanding all the accusations of *heterodoxy* against the Rosminians, the representative of the Order in Rome was selected, with the full sanction of the Pope, to be one of the public instructors in *Christian Doctrine*.

But still with a stolid perseverance worthy of a better cause, the clique of writers continued to write, as they have written for so many years past, though they had nothing new to say, wholly ignoring the fact that all they had said, or had to say, had been already weighed and found wanting thirty years ago. Still, nothing moves them from the steady purpose of so many years, the destruction of Rosmini's good name, and, as a consequence, the ruin of his Order.

Various other attacks have been since organised, especially against the force of the *Dimittantur Opera*, for it was seen that it would be impossible to obtain a re-examination of Rosmini's works, unless it were first proved that the *Dimittantur Opera* was no judgment on the merits of the case. This had been answered in the letter of the Congregation of the Index in 1876, which I have given at length in the last chapter. In all these attempts they have failed, for with all their efforts they

have not moved the Holy See one inch from the sentence of acquittal pronounced thirty years ago. At present they give out that they are not attacking the works that are covered by the *Dimittantur*, but Rosmini's *posthumous* works that have never been examined.

This and the other charges have brought out a number of writers, not members of the Order, in all parts of Italy, and even in France. The substance of their replies has been already stated in the course of these chapters, but I will refer to several of the more important before I finish.¹

The matter, therefore, stands thus: the *Dimittantur Opera* was a real judgment on the merits of the case. Rome does not go back without reasons. No new reasons against Rosmini's doctrines have been shown, the judgment, therefore, on the original works cannot be re-opened. The *posthumous* works have not been shown to contain any new matter that was not covered by one or other of the 327 censures that were examined and rejected as futile thirty years ago. Therefore, so far all the labours of the opposition have been lost.

What, then, is the present situation of the Rosminian question at the latter end of the year 1886. It is like that of an armour-clad vessel that has passed and re-passed the Dardanelles under the heaviest fire that the Turks could bring to bear upon her, without damage to her armour-plating. This does not prove that the vessel is absolutely invulnerable, but it need cause no wonder if the crew feel confident that no projectile that can be forged is likely to do the good ship any serious damage.

Such is the feeling with which the Rosminians regard

¹ See Appendix. 1. Encomium of the Faculty of the Sapienza on Rosmini, 1858. 2. Count de la Motta's retraction of calumnies on Rosmini. 3. Honourable testimony of English and French Jesuits.

the doctrines of their Founder, and they are confident that no Theological principles or Philosophical system of any Catholic writer has ever gone through a more searching ordeal, during so long a period, namely more than fifty years, since Rosmini's fundamental opinions were given to the public; with a result so favourable, that not a single doctrine has been declared censurable by the Ecclesiastical authority charged with safe-guarding the purity of doctrine. This is as much as is required in the process of the Canonization of Saints; for the highest judgment ever given on the published writings of Saints is that of the Congregation of Rites, "*nil censuræ dignum*," which is strictly equivalent, according to the estimate of theologians, to the judgment *Dimittantur* of the Congregation of the *Index*, in the case of books denounced, examined, and dismissed free of all censure.

The result of this long opposition to Rosmini as a writer and as the founder of a Religious Order is threefold.

First: it has been the means of keeping many persons from joining the Order; has made it comparatively weak in the number of its subjects, and of the good works it has been enabled to do. But on the other hand, it has helped to keep us humble, and with a sense of absolute dependence on Divine Providence, making the life of its members a daily practical meditation on the word of St. Paul: "We are not sufficient of ourselves to do anything of ourselves, as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God." Meantime, Almighty God has been pleased to use us for his service in Italy, England, Ireland, France, and America, where our brethren are at work; and wherever we are we have the consolation of knowing that we possess the warm approval of our Bishops.

The second result of the opposition is that it has raised up for us, not only in Italy, but in England, France, Germany, and America, many valiant defenders, and speaking in particular of Italy, that number is continually increasing.¹

There is no one who has done more in our defence than the learned Bishop of Casale in Piedmont, now departed to his rest with God. He is known as one of the most learned of Italian theologians and philosophers. For forty years he has made the works of St. Thomas his chief study. He has written a stupendous work, in eleven octavo volumes, showing the perfect substantial harmony between Rosmini and St. Thomas. In this he has only been working out the problem stated in the words of the illustrious Dominican Cardinal Gonzales, which I have quoted a few pages back, that "it would be easy to prove to demonstration the complete substantial identity between the philosophy of Rosmini and that of St. Thomas."

The celebrated American Catholic writer, Dr Brownson, who began as an opponent of Rosmini and supporter of Gioberti, in the *Magazine* which he so ably conducted for many years, came in the end to the conviction that Rosmini's was after all the one true system of Christian philosophy.

The third result of the opposition of the *Civiltà Cattolica* it is very gratifying to mention. It has done us invaluable service in two ways. 1st. It has given to the name of Rosmini and to his doctrines the immense advantage, that could not have been purchased by money, of the world-wide advertisement of the columns

¹ Among our most valiant and successful defenders outside the Order we must mention the late Archbishop of Turin, Monsignor Gastaldi; Prof. Buroni, also departed, as well as Mgr. Ferri, R.I.P., Professors Papa of the *Sapienza*, Biginalli of the *Ateneo* of Turin, Pestalozza, Corte, Angeleri, Stoppani, Casara, Paganini,

of that ably-conducted Review, which, whether sent out gratuitously or to subscribers, penetrates into almost every Seminary and College of higher studies ; and is found on the library table of almost every Cardinal and Bishop throughout the Catholic world, as well as in the office of every important Catholic Journal or Review. 2nd. We have to thank the *Civiltà Cattolica* for having made the soundness of Rosmini's principles more evidently unassailable, through the utter failure of all their ablest writers, in all these forty years, with all the prestige of their position as professors in Rome, the power of their Journalism, their freedom of access to the sources of influence in Rome, to establish, in the judgment of the Holy See, a single point against the doctrines of Rosmini.

We have, therefore, no reason for anything but thankfulness to the Providence of God which has preserved us, and of confidence in the same Divine protection for the future.

"The life of man is a warfare." "Blessed is he that endureth trial, for when he hath been perfected he shall receive the crown of life." "Truth is great, and will prevail."

This is the way in which God proves individuals, and Religious Societies in the Church. Men and associations of men are *made* by contending with opposition.

It is the way in which truth is brought out, made more clear, and by which it becomes in the end victorious.

We are inclined to think that the term of our probation is near at hand ; yet God alone knows whether we have been sufficiently purified in the fire, and the spirit of vanity and self-confidence, and of that exaggerated *esprit de corps* which is but too common a defect in Religious Societies, as in all corporations of men, has been brought low enough among us.

One great consolation we have among many others, and it is that, during all this thirty years of trial, not a single professed Father has left the Order, through his confidence in our Founder, in his wisdom and in his sanctity, having been undermined by any of the accusations they have heard, and the reports repeated for the hundredth time, that Rosmini's works were "*just going to be condemned.*"

Some "threatened folk live long,"

"Condemned to death, are fated not to die."

APPENDIX.

In this *Appendix* will be found—1st. A very important Decision of the Doctors of the *Sapienza* in Rome, and their high Eulogium of Rosmini, A.D. 1858, in the case of a trial in Rome before the Court of the *Rota*. 2nd. Articles favourable to Rosmini by English and French Jesuits. 3rd. Most important of all, the Letter of Leo XIII. to the Archbishops of Piedmont and Lombardy, in which he prohibits the calumnious attacks on Rosmini in certain Journals of Italy, and forbids them to write any more on the Rosminian Question.

I. DECISION OF THE DOCTORS OF THE SAPIENZA, AND HIGH EULOGIUM OF ROSMINI.

A.D. 1858.

One among the good effects that have come from the attacks on Rosmini has been that they have often been the immediate cause of defenders coming forward, as we have already seen.

One of these attacks was in a work by the late Count Avogadro de la Motta, *On the Scientific Value of Rosmini's Philosophy*. This work came out as one in a *Series of Catholic Works for pious reading* under the auspices of a Religious Society. A bookseller at Naples had subscribed for a quantity of the *Series*, but on reading this work he was so displeased with its unfairness and inappropriateness in a *Series* of this kind, that he refused to accept any more of the volumes.

A suit was the consequence, brought before the Court of the Rota in Rome in the time of Pius IX. The case was referred to the Doctors of the University of the *Sapienza* in Rome, the point being whether the charges against Rosmini in the work of de la Motta were fair or not.

The case was decided in favour of the bookseller, on the ground that the charges in the work were "false and calumnious," after the sentence of the *Index*, which had rejected the same charges. In the words of the Judgment of the Doctors of the *Sapienza*, Rosmini is styled, "*Omnium synchronorum scriptorum longe clarissimus*," "By far the most illustrious of contemporary writers." This decision was given in 1858, and was communicated to Rosmini by the Most Reverend Father Modena of the Dominican Order, Dean of the Faculty of the *Sapienza*. In this we have another instance of the defence of Rosmini by an illustrious Dominican in official position in Rome.

It is gratifying to be able to state that Count de la Motta made a most honourable retraction of all his charges against Rosmini, and in the Senate at Turin, of which he was a member, he pronounced the highest eulogium on his memory.

It would seem that his son has been badly advised, by the party afflicted with "*Rosmini on the brain*," to reprint, a few years ago, his father's work, *without a word of his father's retraction*. This work is nothing but a repetition, in a more popular form, of the censures which the *Civiltà Cattolica* is never wearied of reiterating.

II. THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH JESUITS AND ROSMINI.

Up to this time the minds of Catholics in England and Ireland have not been much troubled with the Rosminian controversy. For in these countries the Ros-

minians, or Fathers of Charity, are well known and respected by the clergy and laity, and no one who had not an easily excitable brain would believe that they were *Jansenists* or *Pantheists*. They have been before the public for half-a-century, as professors, pastors of souls, preachers, confessors, and writers. They enjoy the confidence of their Bishops, and are in the most kindly relations with the clergy, Secular and Regular, with none more so than with the English and Irish Jesuit body. Here we have no people with "Rosmini on the brain."

Nothing could be more genial than the way in which the *Life of Rosmini*, in the Italian, has been reviewed in France by a French Jesuit; and the First Volume of the English *Life of Rosmini*, on its appearance three years ago, was spoken of with much cordiality in the *Month*, conducted by the English Jesuits, in the *Number* for May 1885.

We will quote the English Review first in order. After a rather full notice of the *Life*, the reviewer continues :

We have no space to show more at length how full and active for good was Rosmini's life up to the close of the year 1827—the period covered by the present volume. We must pass on to the principle which, according to our author, is the key-note to Rosmini's consistency of character, and blends the active and passive so harmoniously in his whole course.

This is the principle of *passivity*, which has come frequently before us in the course of the present work. Of this the reviewer writes :—

It has sometimes been the subject of misconception, and has quite an exceptional importance, as on it depends the special form of the Rule of the Rosminian Order.

The writer then goes on to observe that there is no real difference between this principle of *waiting for the*

manifestations of Providence and a similar principle laid down by St. Ignatius.

The principle of passivity (says the reviewer) was the sanctification of Rosmini, and it will be the sanctification of his children. The Fathers of Charity need not be under any fear that their brethren in other Orders will fail to recognise its worth.

We have purposely (continues the reviewer) left ourselves no space to discuss the Rosminian System of Philosophy. That will require, and will perhaps hereafter receive, more extended treatment than is compatible with the limits of a short notice. The biographer has himself, so far, said comparatively little on this part of his subject. It is a question which, to be handled properly, must be separated from such irrelevant matters as are the degree of holiness, or even of learning and talent, possessed by Rosmini. A distinction must be made between the great Catholic priest and the great Catholic philosopher, the founder of an Order devoted to the practice of Christian Charity, and the restorer, if not the founder, of a scientific system devoted to the vindication of Christian truth. For this reason, we regret some expressions in this volume. The writer seems to regard those who differ from the Rosminian philosophy as personal assailants of Rosmini himself.

This is a most kindly notice, and we gratefully thank the conductors of the *Month* for the way they have spoken.

We must, however, say that the first part of this work has not conveyed the sentiments of the Rosminian Fathers, if it has led to its being supposed that we look on all who differ from the Rosminian philosophy as if they were personal assailants of Rosmini. Certainly I have stated very clearly that we consider Rosmini's system as open to any amount of fair criticism, and we should never dream of wishing to abridge the liberty of opinion which the Church leaves open, as well to Rosmini as to his loyal opponents.

III. REVIEW OF ROSMINI'S LIFE IN "ANNALES DE PHILOSOPHIE," BY FATHER BONNIAT, S.J., 1881.

In addition to the authority of the two last Generals of the Jesuits, and of other illustrious writers of the

Order in favour of Rosmini, we are very glad to be able to quote another eminent Jesuit writer, Father Bonniat. In a review of Don Paoli's Italian *Life of Rosmini* in the *Annales de Philosophie Chretienne*, of May 1881, Father Bonniat thus writes :—

The Abbe Rosmini is beyond dispute one of the most remarkable men of this century. It is his Philosophy which has chiefly distinguished him before the public ; but we think him still more eminent for the gifts of his heart and of his soul. The master quality of this chosen being was, as we think, *rectitude*; rectitude of intelligence, and rectitude of will. He was sincere in the presence of truth, sincere in the presence of God. . . .

His Institute, to which he gave the lovely name of Charity, is in a most true sense a fruit of his philosophic thought. Philosopher and priest, servant of truth and servant of God, he was a man who possessed the rare merit, so far as it is granted to human weakness, of being *one*."

This writer then goes on to give a short description of Rosmini's voluminous works. He concludes :—

I will refer only to the name of one of his works, *The Supernatural Anthropology* in which he shows the insufficiency of the light of reason to lead man to his end. . . .

Is it possible for any man, how great soever his penetration and knowledge, to write such a great number of volumes without wounding unintentionally, at some time or another, some Catholic truth? If passion were a proof of this, the ferocity with which Rosmini has been combated in Italy would lead us to believe that his works are sown with heresies. The Sovereign Pontiff having vainly imposed silence on the two parties in the philosophical and chiefly theological war, ordered the Congregation of the *Index* to submit the works of Rosmini to examination. The works were examined during four years by twenty censors, of whom nineteen were unanimous in declaring that Rosmini had written nothing that could not be freely sustained.

The Sacred Congregation has not intended, by this Decree, to canonize the ideas of Rosmini ; but it declares that they contain nothing contrary to Christian Doctrine and Morals, and this is no small merit.

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE ARCHBISHOPS
OF LOMBARDY AND PIEDMONT.

JANUARY 1882.

Pope Leo XIII., seeing the "accusations and discords" resulting from the treating of these subtile matters of theology and philosophy with party spirit by the opponents of Rosmini in some of the journals of the North of Italy, published a letter to the Archbishops of Milan, Vercelli, and Turin, in January 1882, bidding them to do their best to restrain Catholic Journals from "discussing questions which endanger peace among Catholics concerning the doctrines of an illustrious philosopher (Rosmini), one of the most renowned among modern writers."

The Pope continues :

As regards philosophical studies, We have already declared in Our Encyclical *Æterni Patris* of August 1879, directed to all bishops, Our desire that youth should be instructed in the doctrine of St Thomas Aquinas, which has always been found of the greatest use in the wise cultivation of human minds, and is admirably adapted for confuting false opinions.

This suggestion of Our Encyclical was sufficient to have easily kept all minds together in harmony, had not too great subtlety been used in its interpretation, and if that moderation had been observed which, while investigating truth, and without any sacrifice of faith and charity, learned men on both sides of the question have been accustomed to use in their controversies.

But since We have observed, not without anxiety, that too much party spirit has been stirred up, it is a matter of public interest that some restraint should be placed on this excitement of minds. Hence, seeing that in treating these subjects, much study and tranquillity for forming calm judgments is required, which cannot be had in journals that appear from day to day, it is to be desired that *Catholic Journalists should abstain altogether from discussing these questions.*

The Pope then goes on to remind those over busy journalists that

The Apostolic See is ever careful to perform its duty, especially in grave matters which regard the soundness of doctrine, and does not omit to direct its watchful and prudent care to controversies, whether old or new, when they arise, making use of such prudent counsels that every Catholic should feel satisfied with the decision when arrived at. We would not, however, on this account, that any injury should be done to a Society of Religious men who take their name from Charity, and which, as it has hitherto, according to its Institute, usefully devoted itself to the service of its neighbour, so We hope it will continue in future to flourish and bring forth every day more abundant fruit.

The Pope concludes with exhorting the Bishops

To do what they can to second Our counsels and omit nothing that may tend to promote concord among Catholics ; and this all the more, since the enemies of Catholicity increase in their numbers and in their bitterness, so that it is necessary that our whole strength should be directed against them, and should not be weakened by division, but augmented by union among Catholics.

This letter is the last official act of the Holy See in defence of Rosmini's good name, extending over a course of more than forty years. We can say, whenever *Roma locuta est*, it has been in our defence. We do not ask for more than "a fair field and no favour ;" we ask only to be left free to state and defend the teaching of our great Founder, ready always to accept the decision of the Holy See, if ever it should declare any of Rosmini's theological or philosophical opinions to clash with any principles of Catholic Doctrine.

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